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No. 1

EDITED BY

U. N. GHOSHAL

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2. To arrange for publication of the results of researches into the history of India's spiritual and cultural relations with the outside world.
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### Recent Progress in Malayan Archaeology

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

The results of the archaeological exploration carried out recently by Dr. Quaritch Wales for well over a year in Malaya have been published in the form of an excellent monograph entitled "*Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya*" which forms the first part for the year 1940 of the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The author explains in his preface that he has set forth the body of new facts brought to light by him separately in Part I (pp. 1-63), while devoting the much shorter Part II (pp. 67-85) to some of the broader historical deductions that he thinks can be drawn from these facts. Fifteen line-drawings of maps and plans, and eighty-nine plates which accompany the report furnish all the aids that any one who seeks to master its details may reasonably ask for.

No fewer than thirty sites round about Kedah, nearly all of them to the south of Kedah Peak and on the banks of streams emptying themselves into Kuala Merbok and Kuala Muda, were chosen for excavation and the bulk of Part I is taken up with a description of them (1-47); the rest is a description of antiquities from sites in Perak and Johore, and these include some already otherwise known and some



others obtained by Dr. Wales from the localities, though not actually discovered by him.

An inscribed rectangular stone bar from site No. 1 bears the *ye-dharmmā* formula in South Indian characters of the fourth century A.D. and proclaims the Buddhist character of the site where a considerable laterite basement (22' 6" × 23' 6") perhaps of a stūpa, and near it a laterite platform 15' square, 'either a small Buddhist vihāra or a monk's residence,' have been exposed. The inscribed bar may be contemporary with the Bukti Meriam (Site 26) inscription of the same formula discovered by Low about a century ago. A more interesting find and in some ways perhaps the most important one in the whole series is a sundried clay tablet measuring 5½" × 1⅛" × 1⅛" in the centre and slightly tapering towards either end, inscribed on three faces, each face carrying two lines making a complete *śloka*. The script is decidedly Pallava *grantha* of the sixth century A.D., possibly earlier. These three Sanskrit verses embodying Mahāyānist philosophical doctrines have been traced together in a Chinese translation of the *Sāgarāmatī-paripṛcchā*, the original of which is not forthcoming; two of these three verses occur also in a number of translations of other works, all of the Mādhyamika school. The importance of this inscription is that it precedes by about a century the earliest definitely Mahāyānist inscription so far known from South-east Asia, *viz.*, the Sumatran inscription of 606 Śaka (674 A.D.) from Talang Tuwo.

At Site No. 4 Dr. Wales carried out a more complete excavation than Mr. Evans who noticed this site first in 1925, and the result is that the laterite plinth of a temple and a *maṇḍapa* to the east of it have been exposed. It is suggested that the superstructure, of which we have no traces now, must have been of wood, and that the temple must have been a Śiva temple in Pallava style. As this is rather important, it is necessary to cite the very words of the author: "Since the plinths and lower courses of both the *rathas* (of Mahābali-puram) and the Kedah temples under discussion are so plain as to afford almost no data for comparison in regard to style, the

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conclusion that the Kedah temples are in fact the work of Pallava colonists rests on the supplementary evidence supplied by the associated finds, especially the miniature roof to be described below" (p. 12). The 'associated finds' include a crudely executed Gaṇeśa figure carved on a granite boulder, a granite Nandi and a relief of Durgā as Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, besides a bronze object (Pl. 18) lifted from the adjoining riverbed by Tamil coolies engaged in collecting boulders and described by Dr. Wales as 'roof of miniature bronze shrine.' That the site is that of a Śaiva shrine seems clear, but I doubt if the so-called 'roof of miniature bronze shrine' is really that, and if it is has any great value in the argument. I must add that Dr. Quaritch Wales is not without his own doubts on the matter. He writes with disarming naiveté: 'The shrine was evidently used as a casket, the roof acting as a hinged lid provided with a fastener'; after thus disposing of the hinge, he exhibits his awareness of other inconvenient facts by saying: 'the figure of a cross-legged *rishi* seated at each corner, betokening the Śaivite cult,<sup>1</sup> is a feature never found on the roofs at Mahābalipuram. The openwork roof strongly suggests that the temples on which this miniature was modelled had roofs of carved wood or other perishable material' (p. 14). The resemblance between this lid and the roof of the Gaṇeśa *ratha* on which he lays stress, is by no means striking. The sixth or seventh century date suggested for the site depends upon the supposition of a wooden superstructure on the model of Pallava *rathas*, for which there seems to be no tangible evidence.

Site No. 8 on a low spur to the south of Kedah Peak is of interest for its Śiva temple built, at least in its plinth and lower courses which are all that now remain, of carefully dressed small granite blocks, which were used also for pavements. A fragment of a bronze trident, and two nine-chambered quartzite reliquaries of a type unknown in India, but common in more elaborate forms in Java in

1. One may ask Why?

the ninth and tenth centuries, mark out this monument as an early prototype of the Javanese *caṇḍi* (tomb-temple). The main image in the temple might have been the image of a king in the form of Śiva, and not the usual *Liṅga*. There is no evidence of any Javanese influence here, and the trident is noticeably early in its style. Sepulchral temples are known to South Indian Śaivism; but we know little of the rituals of their foundation, and less of their early history and evolution. The Kedah *caṇḍi* is an important new link in this history, at least so far as the Hindu colonies in the East are concerned.

Site No. 10 has a sanctuary about 11' 6" square opening to the west which contained interesting foundation deposits at about 2' below floor level; these comprise one gold and six silver discs, each 1½" in diameter; they are all inscribed on one side in South Indian characters of a cursive type which may be dated in the ninth century A.D. The inscriptions are generally names of Bodhisattvas, except in one case where we have only the syllable *om*, and may represent either the images set up in the temple at the time of its consecration, or the devotees who bore these names and took part in the ceremony. Bosch has observed that such discs are unknown to Javanese archaeology. The opening of Buddhist shrines to the west is well known, and was observed by Ki-ye who travelled in India in the latter half of the tenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Site 12, eighth or ninth century A. D., yielded an iron-dagger with bronze hilt, very similar in shape to the dagger worn by the Maṇiṣāsura in the famous Mahābalipuram relief of his fight with Durgā, and fragments of two Chinese mirrors of the T'ang period (618-907 A. D.). Glass beads from Site 13 of more or less the same date as the preceding site are said to resemble similar beads found in the Philippines and dating from eighth to tenth centuries A. D. there. Site No. 14 was probably a Buddhist shrine dating from the

2. *BEFEO*, iv, p. 80.



end of the ninth century; among its foundation deposits were two silver coins of the Abbasid Caliphate, one of them bearing distinctly the date 234 A. H. (848 A. D.), and an inscribed fragment, the rim of a small silver vessel, bearing a few letters of what must have been a Pāli votive inscription in characters of the sixth or seventh century. In a *tāntric* Buddhist temple 20' square, the inner sanctuary measuring 7' square within, (Site No. 16), was found a bronze casket containing miniature models of animals and weapons in precious metals, together with some gems; fragments of bronze objects such as an aureole, an image, lamps and lamp suspenders and a small bell, all more or less South Indian in appearance, were also recovered from the same shrine, which is dated conjecturally in the ninth or tenth century A. D. A large Śiva temple of the eleventh or twelfth century on Site 19 has been identified by a headless four-armed terracotta Gaṇeśa and a nine-chambered bronze reliquary, besides a 'pointed bronze object with thick crenulated edges', which Dr. Quaritch Wales calls 'the central prong of a trident of Śiva' (p. 39 and Pl. 73), but is clearly the Śakti-weapon of Kārttikeya or Subrahmaṇya. Under Site No. 27 we find the report of an interesting find in 1914 of parts of a golden belt of woven wire including two repousse pieces of a *śiṃhamukha* which adorned the clasp in front, similar in appearance to the clasp of the belt of the large stone Bhairava of the fourteenth century from Sungai Langsat in Sumatra; the gold belt may be of the same time or a little earlier. The section on Kedah closes with two notes on the dimensions of the various classes of typical bricks from Kedah sites, and the results of chemical analyses of bronze objects conducted at the Imperial Institute.

Turning then to Perak, Dr. Wales begins by explaining the difference in geographical conditions between Kedah where the streams are small, and the danger of soil erosion limited, conditions favourable to the preservation of ancient sites, and Perak with its torrential rivers draining vast mountain slopes. He suggests that the flat swampy

jungle stretching out to the sea beyond the modern town of Telok Anson did not exist in the days of Hindu colonisation; 'for', he says, 'I understand that geologists are now of opinion that the tin-bearing alluvium bordering the foothills is of very recent origin indeed' (p. 48). I have a suspicion that in saying this, Dr. Wales has overlooked the difference in the time scales employed by the geologist and the historian. But changes in the course of rivers in historical times are known to have occurred in many parts of the world and may well be admitted without any support from geology. It may also be conceded generally that these changes may have caused destruction to ancient sites and their antiquities. But then Dr. Quaritch Wales says that 'it is important to lay the strongest emphasis' (p. 48) on this phenomenon, and says a little later: 'The point that must be borne in mind, therefore, is that it would be quite possible for large cities to have flourished on the Perak rivers and yet to have been completely destroyed' (p. 49); he further explains the paucity of finds from these sites saying: 'The fact that they are found isolated and scattered shows how completely cities have been overwhelmed and their remains perhaps rooted up, and disseminated over square miles of river basin' (pp. 49-50). It is after such a tendentious introduction that he reviews six bronzes, all Buddhist, three early Hinayāna ones, two Buddhas and a throne (fifth and sixth centuries A. D.), and the rest Mahāyāna Bodhisattvas (eighth to tenth century A. D.), and all of them already known in one way or other. Dr. Wales then refers to the Malay annals on Ganga Nagara and local traditions in Bruas of an old city; but his attempts to get confirmation of these by excavations at a *kota* (fort) and the adjoining Muslim graveyards, yielded nothing more than some porcelain fragments of the Ming period (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). He then recalls the discoveries made by Evans some years ago at Kaula Selinsing, a site not exposed to riverine erosion, and discusses in the light

of his further investigations, the so-called Pallava seal inscribed 'viṣṇuvarmmasya' and the ear-ring with the relief of a human figure on a bird; Dr. Wales doubts the Hindu origin of the seal because of the mistakes in it (*śri* for *śrī*); he is inclined to see more Indonesian influences in the settlement which he dates from the sixth century A. D. to the thirteenth. I think the doubts cast upon the Hindu character of the seal, whatever the truth about the ear-ring may be, are quite unwarranted, and I can only ask the reader to read the original account of Evans on these finds and consult his excellent illustrations of them in F. M. S. Museums Journal (XV, Pt. 3, Aug. 1932). We shall return to this question with Dr. Wales presently. The slab graves of Perak are also declared to be more Indonesian than Indian in character, and this may well be so, as sites known to be definitely Indian have nothing like them or the implements found in them.

Part I concludes with a discussion of Johore and some sites in it in the light of Moens' article on *Ārivijaya, Yāva en Kaṭāha* in the Batavian *Tijdschrift*. Dr. Wales is quite decisive in his findings against Moens' location of Lo-yue and Kaḍāram in Johore. Unlike Perak and to a less extent Kedah where rivers and tin-mining have proved highly inimical to the preservation of ancient sites, Johore has been practically static in its geographical conditions, its rivers being very sluggish, and of tin-mining there has been very little here. Sungai Seluyat on which Moens would locate Lo-yue is quite unsuited for growing a crop or building a town. 'As to Sungai Kedaru, a tributary of the Sungai Papan which flows into the Lebam, on which Moens proposes to locate the great city of Kaḍāram, I found it to be merely a narrow channel through brackish swamps, barely navigable by sampan' (p. 58). Again: 'Is it then for one moment imaginable that the ruined temples of Kaḍāram, a great city which flourished certainly as late as the XIIth century A. D., could have remained unknown if they had stood anywhere near the quiet waters of the



Johore?' (p. 60). Mr. Moens' location of Kaḍāram at Johore was considered by the present writer and rejected on quite other grounds some time ago.<sup>3</sup> At Kota Tinggi, an early settlement is attested by the discovery of Mr. G. B. Gardner of a large number of beads 20% of them Roman, 7.5% early Indian stone beads, and the rest 'mostly of crude glass of no clearly assignable origin, either Arabic or European' (p. 60). Dr. Wales' excavations showed much Ming blue and white porcelain mixed with earlier pottery of local Indonesian manufacture bearing decorative designs similar to those on the well-known bronze drums of the Han period, which are probably more Indonesian than Chinese. Structural remains of Hindu or Buddhist nature are definitely of a much later date.

Just one more observation before we leave Part I of Dr. Wales' monograph. He notices the absence of Hindu colonies on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, and, as he points out, so far there has not been even a chance find of an Indian antiquity from these parts, and explains this as due to the area being exposed to the full force of the north-east monsoon (p. 59). There may be something in this, but obviously this cannot be all. The Arabian Sea littoral of South India is exposed to the full force of the South-west monsoon, and this did not stand in the way of numerous emporia and a busy trade coming up there, as well as the rise of a number of foreign settlements in these marts.

In Part II Dr. Wales seeks to set forth 'some of the broader historical deductions' emerging from his discoveries, and he naturally tries to link up these conclusions with his earlier work on the subject, in which he has distinguished, with reservations, Four Main Waves of Indian Cultural Expansion in the East. For the period of the First Wave, first three centuries of the Christian era, the Roman beads of Johore are accepted as evidence and

3. *JGIS*, Vol. V. (1938) p. 128.

taken to support Berthelot's identification of Ptolemy's Palanda with Kota Tinggi. The carriers of these beads may have been Indians; but no really early evidence of a fully Indian character, say a Buddha in Amarāvati style such as has been found elsewhere, has yet come to light in Malaya, and it continues to be difficult to fix the localities of Hindu colonisation in this area in this period; the population and culture, Dr. Wales suggests, might have been dominantly Indonesian, witness Pahang bronze drum, slab graves, and bulk of finds at Kuala Selinsing, though not untouched by Indian influences. Braddell's identification of Takola with Kedah is, I think properly, held to be doubtful.

The inscribed clay tablet from Kedah Site 2 and the two Buddha bronzes from the Kinta valley from the most important evidence for the Second Wave (c. 300-550 A. D.). Dr. Wales suggests that Kedah was part of Lang-ya-hsiu, a kingdom which had its capital at Ligor and spread across the peninsula touching the sea on either side, and was itself subject to Fu-nan. The only evidence cited in support of this highly speculative position is the presence of 'very early inscriptions' not only at Kedah, but at Ligor. It may not be without interest to note here that Professor Luce, on whom Dr. Wales relies in part for the reconstruction he offers, sizes up quite otherwise the evidence on the relations between Lang-yu-hsiu and Fu-nan. He says: "It (Lang-ya-hsiu) is not mentioned, however, in connection with the conquests of Fu-nan. After a long period of weakness its power was revived, under influence from India, in the latter half of the fifth century; quite possibly it gained, as Fu-nan lost, in importance."<sup>4</sup> And as none of the 'very early inscriptions' cited by Dr. Wales goes back to the Fu-nan period, they can furnish no evidence of value for this time. Dr. Wales says that Moens' identification of Cho-p'o with Kedah could not be dismissed on

4. *JBRs*, XIV, p. 165.

purely archaeological grounds ; this is perhaps so ; but as I have discussed this identification in detail elsewhere<sup>5</sup> and expressed my disagreement with it, it is not necessary to go over the ground again here. Dr. Wales suggests also that the obscure Kan-toli or Kin-to-li of the Leang and First Sung annals must be sought in the Kinta valley ; he thinks that phonetically the names Kinta and Kin-to-li are near enough, and the two Buddhist images of the Gupta type from the locality accord with the Buddhist affiliations of Kin-to-li as recorded in the Chinese annals. Dr. Wales adds : 'While I shall not press the identification it will appear later that there is other evidence in support of this view' (p. 69). At this point I will only observe that the Ming annals state definitely that Kin-to-li was the ancient name of San-fo-tsi, and this has led quite a number of scholars to locate it in Sumatra. Moreover, Buddhism and Buddha images, which are found all over these lands can hardly settle questions of this character. We shall return to this matter when we come to the 'other evidence' of Dr. Wales.

The age of the Third Wave (c. 550-750 A. D.) is the most important period for the history of Kedah, according to Dr. Wales. He postulates the constant arrivals of Hindu Pallava colonists here from the opposite coast and holds that 'Kedah remained remarkably Indian long after local evolution had set in further afield' (p. 70). We have presented our view above of the evidence from Sites 4 to 9 on which Dr. Wales relies particularly for his thesis, and we think that he is inclined to read more meaning into the finds than they are apt to bear. There is surely something in his view that the West coast of Malaya was more directly exposed to strong Pallava influences than the rest of Malayasia ; he cites the Takuapa images in his discussion of this period, and one wonders if he has noticed that these images like the Tamil inscription with

5. *JGIS*, Vol. vii, p. 15.



which they are connected really belong to his Fourth Period. The somewhat exaggerated stress he has laid on the role of C'aiya and Ligor, and the overland routes across the isthmus in the spread of Hindu culture in Indo-China has been noticed already by other critics. Again, he says that the four bronze images from the Kinta valley are two of them Gupta, and two Pāla, which we may accept for the sake of argument ; but can the absence of a Pallava representative here support the inferences (1) that the Pallava colonists did not pass through the straits of Malacca and establish themselves in the country beyond ; and (2) that the early colony established in the Kinta valley of Perak, for the existence of which there is no other evidence than its supposed identity with Kin-to-li, lapsed temporarily after the sixth century ? Likewise his citation of the fragmentary Bangka stone image (of Viṣṇu ?) as evidence of Hindu influence modified in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula and thence transmitted to Sumatra and Java is hardly convincing, as also the attempt to deny the possibility of Hindu influences directly playing upon Sumatra and Java in the seventh century : the script of the Sumatran inscriptions of the close of the seventh century and I-tsing's observations on Śrīvijaya seem to tell a different tale, so at least others have held. And the proper interpretation of the Bangka image is to treat it, as Stutterheim does, as a product of the Śrīvijaya art of the period, a local work marked at once by both Indian and Indonesian traits.

But the most revolutionary of Dr. Wales' suggestions are those put forward in the concluding pages of his memoir on the identity of Kaḍāram and the centre of the Śailendra empire of Śrīvijaya. He says that Hindu Pallava influences cease at Kedah about the second half of the eighth century A. D. when Mahāyānist temples replace Śiva temples and the Fourth Wave sets in ; Kedah (=Langkasuka) becomes a dependency of the Śailendra empire, which had its centre in the Kinta valley, witness

Mahāyānist images from the tin mines. There are no influences of Sumatran or Javanese origin traceable in the peninsula, all the archaeological finds from Kedah, Perak and elsewhere being clearly directly Indian in origin, and pre-dating the later forms of the islands, and this negatives 'any idea that Javanese or Sumatran reflux influence was a powerful factor in the culture of the peninsula during this period' (p. 73). 'On purely cultural grounds, therefore', says Dr. Wales, 'I reject any view which seeks to make Java or Sumatra the headquarters of the Śailendra empire, while it seems rather unlikely that the Śailendra dynasty originated from either of these islands' (p. 74). In making these remarks on the cultural relations among three regions, South India, Malaya and the islands, that were engaged in active mutual intercourse all the time, Dr. Wales is nicely skating over thin ice. But why should Pallava influences have all been Hindu? Kāñci, the home of Dharmapāla, was a great centre of Buddhism as well. Dr. Wales is not unconscious of this as he says that 'the Fourth Wave of Indian influence no doubt came largely from South India, which itself was influenced at this period by Pāla Mahāyānist culture' (p. 73). Further there is no apparent reason why Pallava influences must have ceased to be operative in the latter half of the eighth century; and the Takuapa Tamil inscription and images imply just the contrary.

Śrīvijaya of the Ligor Sanskrit inscriptions must have been another city, different from the Sumatran city of that name with its old Malay inscriptions, possibly modern C'aiya. As a result of Coedès' criticisms—and Coedès pointed out that there were not two but several (Śrī) Vijayas—and in consequence of further exploration, Dr. Wales no longer considers that C'aiya was the centre of the Mahārāja's empire which controlled the straits indirectly through Kedah (Kaḍāram). The evidence of the Perak Mahāyānist bronzes and the new knowledge he has gained from a study of local geographical conditions have resulted

in a revolutionary revolution of Śailendra history by him. If C'aiya's eccentric position disqualifies it for being the centre of a large maritime empire as Coedès says, Palembang, rejoins Dr. Wales, is in no better case. We must find a more central capital, and this, he says, could have been nowhere else than in the Kinta valley. By locating the capital here, Dr. Wales overcomes one difficulty he had experienced before, *viz.*, 'in supposing that such obviously important cities as C'aiya and Ligor could have been dependencies situated on the periphery of an empire having its capital so far away as Palembang.' Any difficulty others might feel that this supposed capital in the Kinta valley has left no tangible traces behind, Dr. Wales seeks to remove by the knowledge he has now gained 'that a great city could have existed as lately as the XII or XIIIth century in the Kinta valley and yet have left no noticeable remains owing to the destruction brought about by natural agencies' (p. 75). The reader may now understand the full significance of the remarks with which Dr. Wales introduced the Perak bronzes and the 'strongest emphasis' he laid there on the geographical conditions of the district.

By way of evidence in favour of this hypothesis, he recalls the Perak bronzes and the Chinese reference to Kan-to-li, already noticed; then he cites the Viṣṇu Varman seal from Kuala Selinsing, accepts Chhabra's suggestion that Viṣṇuvarman might be identical with Viṣṇu of the Ligor inscription, and suggests that the seal was made for the Śailendra emperor 'of the neighbouring city which would presumably be the residence of the Śailendra emperors, *i.e.* Kaḍāram' (p. 77). The Ligor Śailendra inscription is later than 775 A.D. by one or two generations; no one but Chhabra has suggested that the Perak seal can be so late, and even he is fully alive to the paleographical difficulty, and asks rhetorically: 'Can we not conceive of two different characters—one simple and the other somewhat elaborate—existing side by side for two different pur-

poses as in the present instance<sup>6</sup>?' Dr. Wales glosses the objection and says: 'Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the period from which the seal dates, as one would expect with an inscription of so few letters' (p. 55).

There is one other source on which Dr. Wales seeks support for his thesis: the story of Rāja Suran in the *Malay Annals*. He is aware that the story as it is is of no use to history, but he says, 'when treated in conjunction with certain practical considerations and a legitimate scientific imagination, may be of considerably greater historical importance than has hitherto been supposed' (p. 77). The story in outline is that Rāja Suran, a prince from India, attacked Rāja Ganggi Shah Juana, ruler of Gangga Nagara, killed him and married his sister; then he attacked another city Glangkui or Ganggāyu, killed its ruler Rāja Chulan, and this time married his daughter. Gangga Nagara is located on river Dinding in Perak; in the later versions Glangkui is identified with Johore as it possessed 'a fort of black stone up the river Johore.' The earlier recension gives Lenggui for Ganggayu and omits all reference to Johore and the fort. So far the story as summed up by Dr. Wales. He suggests that this is a reference to Cōla campaigns of the reign of Rājendra I in which facts of different campaigns have been mixed up; he cites a similar suggestion made by me in my account of Rājarāja's reign, but I do not think the cases are on all fours, though I admit readily that no external support is needed for so general a suggestion that facts of history have got badly mixed up together in a story. So far as I have been able to make out, his concrete suggestions are:<sup>7</sup> Suran stands

6. *JASB*, *Letters*, 1935, p. 28.

7. Some of these suggestions are obviously derived from previous writers, see particularly the comprehensive and useful discussion by R. Braddell in *JRAS. Malay Branch* Vol. xiv. which raises many valid objections to Rāja Suran's exploits being connected with Rājendra's expedition.



for a king of the solar race (*sūryavarṇśa*)—a suggestion adopted from R. Braddell, which is probable; Rāja Culan stands, not for Cōḷa as has been thought so far, but for Cūḷāmaṇivarman—which seems to me intrinsically less probable and seems also to overlook the fact that Cūḷāmaṇivarman never came into conflict with the Cōḷa power, but lived on most friendly terms with it; the first expedition against Gangga Nagara is a reference to the Ganges campaign of Rājendra which he had completed before undertaking the expedition against Kaḍāram—though it is not explained why this campaign should find a place in the *Malay Annals*; lastly, the black stone fort of Johore is ultimately the city of Gaur, the capital of the Pāla rulers of Bengal, which had been largely built of *black hornblende*—a far-fetched suggestion to say the least of it as the importance of Gaur is later than the period of Pāla rule. Dr. Wales adds that these legends have 'their point of origin so far as Malaya is concerned' in Perak. 'It would be difficult to see any reason for this unless Kaḍāram had been situated in Perak, while the fact that the legends are attached to the river Dinding or the neighbourhood of Bruas puts no difficulty in the way of our identification of Kaḍāram with a site in the Kinta valley somewhere near Sungai Siput where two of the Mahāyānist bronzes came to light' (p. 79).

Such are the grounds for which Kaḍāram is to be located in the Kinta valley on a site which in the XIth century was not as far from the sea as it now is, thanks to the rapid growth of alluvial swamps. I have reproduced Dr. Wales' argument as far as possible in his own words so that the reader may judge for himself how far they may be considered sound and convincing. Speaking for myself, I can only say that this part of the essay on the location of Kaḍāram is the weakest part of the whole. In reality there is no tangible evidence other than that of the bronzes, and even if, for argument, we accept Dr. Wales' view that they are all of directly Indian inspiration and have no

relation to Sumatran art, they can only show that some Hindu colony flourished for several generations in this region. That it must have been the great city of Kaḍāram has not been established and could not be established without much more evidence than Dr. Wales has so far adduced. Let me add this : I have refrained from citing Moens' arguments and those of R. C. Majumdar on the change of capital of Chō-p'o, on the Śailendras and on Kaḍāram, with which Dr. Wales expresses agreement in part, because they are not of the essence of Dr. Wales' argument and they have been discussed fully by me elsewhere—in my two papers on *Kaṭāha*, and *Notes on the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago*, published in the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, and in a forthcoming paper on *Śrīvijaya*. I do not think it necessary to follow Dr. Wales' speculations on later history as they do not arise directly out of his explorations.

## Theravāda Buddhism In Burma

(From the introduction of *Theravāda Buddhism in Pagan in 1057 to the fall of the Pagan dynasty, c. 1287 A. D.*)\*

By Dr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray

Whoever has cared to study the local chronicles of Burma must have taken notice of one characteristic common to almost all of them. He must have seen that with the occupation of the Pagan throne by Anawrahta the chronicler becomes infused as it were with new life; his account becomes fuller with details, events begin to move with force and vigour, the narrative becomes more vivid, lively and continuous, information more definite, and the chronicle comes to stand against a more or less secure chronological background. It is from this time that the chronicler seems to give us a more or less exact history of the Peninsula. In fact, there is in these chronicles and *thamaings* (prose histories of pagodas, monasteries and towns) and in the historical ballads a continuous history of Burma, full of details, not unoften with interpretations thereof, from the conquest of Thaton down to the British conquest of Burma; and on the whole the information and the interpretation furnished by them are reliable. This has been amply demonstrated by the chronicles and *thamaings* themselves agreeing with one another on all essential points as well as with independent archaeological and monumental sources of information. A good deal of caution is indeed necessary in dealing with evidences from such sources, but that is more or less true of all literary and semi-historical materials; even then such sources can be turned to the best advantage if only one knows how to separate the husk from the grain.

\* This chapter is in sequence to the author's *Early traces of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma* published in Vol. VI. No. 1 of this Journal, pp. 1-52.

A modern historian attempting to write a history of Burma from 1057 onwards has therefore reasons to be more happy about his materials which are far from scanty and are generally of reliable authenticity. It is thus possible for him to present his readers with a detailed, complete and continuous readable account whether of political or religious history without burdening it with discussions of details and examinations of materials that are otherwise necessary. The story of the religion from the memorable event of the sack of Thaton and eventual introduction of Theravāda Buddhism into Pagan onwards is, therefore, told with less difficulty.

#### *Sources and Source-materials*

A series of inscriptions originally engraved on ten upright stones at the Kalyāṇisīmā, Pegu, for example, constitute a most important evidence, and may be considered to be the surest foundation on which a structure of the events of Buddhism during the four centuries and a half from c. 1057 to c. 1500 A.D. can be built. They are, moreover, our earliest sources, and devoting themselves as they do, entirely and exclusively to recording of the events and vicissitudes of the religion irrespective of any political or military activities of contemporary kings and dynasties they go to furnish us with an exhaustive and a most dependable account, simply and faithfully told. These inscriptions, it is well-known, were set up at the instance of king Dhammaceti of Pegu (1472-92) to record the reintroduction by the king, referred to in the inscriptions as Ramaññādhpati, of a canonically valid monastic succession from Ceylon where, according to him, such a succession had been preserved, while in his own realm it had long been split up into schismatical sects. The validity of such succession depends on the ordination, strictly in accordance with the rules of the Vinaya, being handed down by successive ordinations on the one hand, and on the pre-



vious and proper consecration of the places where such ordinations are carried out. Dhammaceti had sent a mission of twenty monks to Ceylon to receive their re-ordination at the hands of the great *theras* of the Mahāvihāra. When they came back and when an adequate number of validly ordained monks had become available king Dhammaceti caused them to consecrate in due form a *sīmā* or ordination-site at Pegu. To this he gave the name of Kalyāṇīsīmā to commemorate the fact that the monks who had been sent to Ceylon had received their *upasampadā* ordination in a *sīmā* on the Kalyāṇī river. When the king had thus succeeded in creating a good deal of interest in the great work he had performed, large numbers of monks of his realm came flocking together to receive re-ordination at the hands of the monks already re-ordained in Ceylon. Dhammaceti was thus able to bring about a closing down of all schisms and effect an unity in the Buddhist Order of Burma on the basis of a canonical valid succession. In recording an account of this good and great achievement, the inscriptions begin no doubt with a full reference to king Asoka's reformation of the Buddhist Order and the mission of Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, but then take a long jump over more than 1200 years and at once refer themselves to the reign of king Manohari or Manohar (Manuha) of Sudhuim (Thaton) and the eventual conquest of Sudhuim and introduction of the religion into Arimaddanapura by king Anuruddha (Anawrahta). It is, in fact, from the account of the origin and consequences of the schismatical divisions of the Order in Burma, in Burma proper, i.e. in the realm of Pagan, but with special reference to the Môn country, that the narrative becomes full of minute and exhaustive details furnishing a complete record of that great work king Dhammaceti had so successfully performed.<sup>1</sup>

1 The Pāli text of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions with a translation and some notes as well as an introduction was first edited and

Of other standard sources for a religious history of the period mention must be made of the *Cullavaṃsa*, the *Gandhavaṃsa*<sup>2</sup> and the *Sāsanavaṃsa*,<sup>3</sup> the latter a Pāli work written in Burma by a Burmese scholar, and the *Piṭakaṭṭhamain*<sup>4</sup> a twentieth century work. All these books have in fact been utilised by Dr. Mabel Bode as furnishing elaborate bibliographies of Pāli literature of Burma and Ceylon ; they are indeed the indigenous accounts of the Pāli literature of Burma furnishing us with an almost complete record of more or less well-known authors and their works. But at the same time they also throw much welcome light on the history and vicissitudes of the religion, and have a more or less complete record of the religious activities that were responsible for bringing into existence such a store of Pāli literature in Burma. The *Gandhavaṃsa* which is the earlier chronicle belonging to about the seventeenth century is not so full of details as the later *Sāsanavaṃsa* ; it is in fact very sparing of information with regard to the period and chronology of the works it enumerates. The *Gandhavaṃsa* thus suffers from a serious drawback which is further complicated by the very meagre information it gives of

published in 1893 by Mr. Taw Sein Ko in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xxii; some additional notes were appended in the two years following, under the title—"Some remarks on the Kalyāṇī Inscriptions" (Vols. xxiii, xxiv). These publications were issued in separate form; which, however, was further supplemented by a transcript in the Burmese character of the actual Pāli text, as it survives in a fragmentary state on the stones.

The Mōn text of the inscriptions was edited in the best and most admirable manner by Dr. C. O. Blagden (*Ep. Birmanica*, Vol. III, part II, 1928, Rangoon). He gives a full reading of the Mōn text, tested and verified by the Pāli text, and portions of it by two copies of a palm-leaf manuscript in the possession of the Kahnyaw monastery, Bilugyun, and the Bernard Free Library. This is prefaced by a very good descriptive account and followed by an able translation based upon the Mōn text and its Pāli counterpart.

2 *Gandhavaṃsa*, Ed. by Minayeff *JPTS*, 1886, Index 1896.

3 *Sāsanavaṃsa*, Ed. by Dr. Mabel Bode. *JPTS*, 1897.

4 *Piṭakaṭṭhamain* (in Burmese), Rangoon, 1906.

the events and vicissitudes of the faith in Burma. But much more useful from our point of view is the *Sāsana-varṇsa* which fully utilises the older Burmese chronicles, for example, the *Rājavarṇsa*, which is most often referred to, the *Mahārājavarṇsa* or the National Chronicle, the *Aṭṭhakathā* and lastly even the inscriptions of the Kalyāṇī-sīmā. It has, moreover, a reliable chronological sequence and even assigns dates to events, authors and their works which are verifiable with reference to other independent sources. Its value lies in that it enables us to present a brief but connected account of the religion. But the *Sāsana-varṇsa* has its limitations; "It is confused, rambling and prejudiced. The author (Paññasāmī) who dates his book 1223 B. E. = 1861 A. D., was the tutor of King Mindon-Min and himself a pupil of the Saṃgharāja, or Head of the Order at Mandalay, a high ecclesiastic of Mindon-Min's reign, belonged by all his convictions and traditions to the Sīhala Saṃgha (as distinct from and opposed to the Mramma Saṃgha or Burmese School) an important school or sect, having, as the name shows, a close connection with the Buddhist fraternity of Ceylon. As for the other communities whose spiritual forefathers refused to look on the Mahāvihāra (of Ceylon) \* \* \* as the very centre and hearth of orthodoxy, they interest him only moderately \* \* \* Therefore, we must beware of considering the *Sāsana-varṇsa* a complete record of monastic work. Nevertheless, the author's own point of view is instructive, and we have no right to say that he does not try to be impartial."<sup>5</sup>

The *Sāsana-varṇsa* professes to be a general history of Buddhism and begins, therefore, with the birth of the Buddha and gives a short and running summary of events in the light of the Sinhalese tradition up to the sending forth of missionaries by Asoka, more definitely by Moggaliputta Tissa Mahāthera, to nine different countries. The latter history of the religion is then followed in these

5 Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma*, Introduction, pp. xi-xii.

nine countries, a separate chapter being given to each ; but it is with only two of these nine that we are concerned, viz. Chapter III dealing with Suvannabhūmi (i.e. Lower Burma for all practical purposes) and Chapter VI dealing with Mrammamaṇḍala (i.e. Burma proper) in Aparāntaraṭṭha (i.e. Upper Burma with its centre at Pagan or Arimaddanapura). The account of Suvannabhūmi together with that of Sihala (Ceylon) is far more complete and shows more knowledge of the subject than those of Yonakaraṭṭha, Vanavāsa, Kāśmīra-Gandhāra, Mahimsakamaṇḍala, Cīnaraṭṭha or Mahāraṭṭha. But even the account of the religion in Suvannabhūmi is meagre compared to that of Mrammamaṇḍala (Chap. VI) which practically occupies three-fifths of the entire *Sāsanavamsa*, and which is by far the longest and the most important chapter<sup>6</sup>. But what is interesting is that neither of the accounts of the two realms gives us any exact detail (besides referring to the Asoka mission in Suvannabhūmi and vaguely speaking of the Samaṇakuṭṭaka heresy at Arimaddana) of the vicissitudes of the religion before the occupation of the Pagan throne by Anawrahta and the subsequent conquest of Thaton. It is only with this historical event that the *Sāsanavamsa* begins to be interesting and convincing. From this point it promises a fuller and detailed narrative, not only with regard to Mrammamaṇḍala alone, but with regard to Suvannabhūmi as well which, by the way, included, according to the *Sāsanavamsa*, the Ramañña country (Thaton), Hamsāvati (Pegu), and Muttima (Martaban).<sup>7</sup>

The *Piṭakkaṭṭhamain* is a twentieth century (1906) Burmese bibliography of Buddhist works written in Rangoon, and is dependable as a book of reference. It is of little importance as a chronicle of the events of the religion and as such is not indispensable, but it is useful with regard to dates and authors of Buddhist works, and

6 For an account of the arrangement and contents of the *Sāsanavamsa* see PTS edn., Introduction, pp. 1-10.

7 *Sāsanavamsa*, p. 35.



as it records the tradition of older chronicles it has its importance in the history of Pāli literature of Burma.

Apart from purely ecclesiastical works we have at our disposal a number of standard chronicles,<sup>8</sup> one of which, the *Yazawingyaw*, the work of Shin Thilawantha, goes as far as the fifteenth century. Its historical value is almost nothing, as it speaks more of the history of Buddhism in India and Ceylon than in Burma. Other chronicles are the sixteenth century *Razadarit Ayedawpon*, by Binnya Dala, and the *Pawtugi Yazawin*. The most important chronicles belong, however, to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; such are the *Great Chronicle* by Maung Kala, the *New Pagan Chronicle* written in 1785, the *New Chronicle* written towards the end of the eighteenth century by Twinthin Mahasithu and lastly the *Hmannan Yazawin* compiled by a royal commission in 1829. Besides these, there is a number of other chronicles of lesser importance such as the *Tagaung Chronicle*, the *Rakhaing Chronicle*, the *Thareh-kittara Chronicle*, the *Hngeppyyittaung Chronicle*, the *Pagan Chronicle*, the *Vamsadipani* and perhaps yet others which may be included in this list. There are still others which deal with particular periods or aspects of history; such, for example, are the *Talaing Chronicles*, *Pegu Chronicles*, *Tavoy Chronicle*, *Cetivaṇṇa*, *Cetivaṇṇa*, and so forth. But as I have not been able to examine for purpose of my study chronicles other than the standard ones, it is hardly of any use giving a long list. But this is just to impress on the reader that there is indeed no reason to complain about the dearth of historical materials in Burma, though one may, however, doubt their quality or standard.<sup>9</sup>

8 For an account of these chronicles and their value see Harvey, *History of Burma*, pp. xvi-xix; Maung Tin and Luce, *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. xiii-xxii.

9 Mr. Harvey in evaluating the quality and standard of the Burmese chronicles in the introduction of his admirable work, *History of Burma*, writes, "Our main authority is the standard Burmese chronicles. It is impossible to study these especially in

Of the standard chronicles enumerated above and which I have been able to consult, the *Hmannan Yazawin* is by far the most complete and authoritative. The first two chapters of this Chronicle are devoted to a mere repetition of the story of Buddhism and of the Buddhist kings of India, but with the third chapter, the story moves to Burma where it opens with the history of the three kingdoms of Tagaung, Tharekittara and Pagan, and in a string of several chapters it brings the history of Burma with the main outlines of her political and religious vicissitudes down to 1752. It was compiled by a committee of scholars consisting of learned monks, learned Brāhmaṇas and learned ministers appointed under the orders of king Bagyidaw in 1829. "The king of the Law seeing many discrepancies and repetitions in the former chronicles gave thought to the matter. Being convinced that a chronicle of kings should be the standard, a balance, so to speak, for all duties of the king, for all affairs of state, for all matters of religion, and not a thing full of conflicting and false statement, he assembled his ministers and ecclesiastical teachers.....and caused the Chronicle to be purified by comparing it with other chronicles and a number of inscriptions each with the other, and adopting the truth in the light of reason and traditional books." The *Hmannan* is indeed based largely on earlier sources, e.g., a large number of inscriptions, almost all the standard chronicles and those of lesser and local importance and a

conjunction with the other native records without acquiring considerable respect for them. No other country on the main land of Indo-China can show so impressive continuity. The great record of *substantially accurate dates* goes back for no less than nine centuries, and even the earlier legends have a substratum of truth. But that which gives continuity also gives false perspective; the record is that of the Burmese, the energetic and the dominant minority who possessed an abiding palace and a continuous tradition. Written in the shadow of the throne, the chronicles tell little of general conditions and their story is not that of the peoples of Burma, or even of the Burmese people, but simply that of the dynasties of Upper Burma. In a land of centrifugal tendencies, facts are distorted to fit into a centripetal scheme, and the Burmese

large number of *thamaings*, besides Pāli chronicles and Burmese poetical literature. Discrepancies among the chronicles there are, but they are never vital and do hardly affect the fundamental facts or factors of history except in one or two minor details, and those even only with regard to very early times. From our point of view and with regard to the period under survey agreement among the different standard chronicles is rather the general rule. In connection with the history of Buddhism in Burma proper, the Buddha's introduction of Buddhism along with his visit to Lekaing is mentioned in almost every chronicle, and the subsequent events of the religion in the one is practically repeated in the other with very few minor discrepancies. I have, therefore, thought it convenient to draw largely upon one chronicle, the *Hmannan*, which practically contains all that is given in the earlier chronicles, especially with regard to all matters concerning the vicissitudes of the religion. Like all other sources, the *Hmannan*, too, is very sparing of details so far as it relates itself to happenings before the days of king Anawrahta, but with him the account of the *Hmannan* becomes more lively and interesting and more full of details, connected and complete.

There is another class of Burmese historical literature called the *Thamaings*, important from both political and religious points of view. They are frequently very late, but as they profess to be based on older materials it is not unoften that they contain valuable tradition. Their contents are mainly of a religious nature, and they are generally associated with establishment and history generally of a pagoda or monastery and sometimes even of a town. The account in most of the *thamaings* is a queer admixture of

capital is made to occupy the whole of the canvas, while races such as the Shans who for centuries were of at least equal importance, and the Talaings, who were probably the leaders of civilization to the very end, are scarcely mentioned save as a foil". (*Ibid.*, p. xix).

legends and facts, but incidentally it sometimes throws welcome light on some political or religious event or events. The *Shwemadaw Thamaing* is perhaps one of the earliest, and the *Shwesandaw Thamaing* probably follows close. Among other *thamaings* may be mentioned the *Thaton Shwezayan Hpayazyi Thamaing*, the *Shwenattaung Thamaing*, the *Hop-u-Thamaing*, and the *Zat-ngaya Thamaing* which are based on the older *Shwesandaw Thamaing*, and the *Ke Hkayaina Thamaing* which was written only about two decades ago. The majority of the *thamaings* are written in prose, but some, for example, the *Shwezigôn Thamaing Linka*, are also written in verse. But I have not been able to find the *thamaings* to be of much use for purposes of my present study; in fact, I have not found it possible to use any of them to any good advantage. They do not seem to contribute much towards the history of Buddhism of the period under review.

# I

## *The Early Phase: Work of Shin Arahan*

As a result of the zeal, energy, enthusiasm and sincerity with which Shin Arahan, with Anawrahta always ready by his side to add strength to his elbows, had devoted himself to his noble mission, the work of propagation of the religion of Śākyamuni went apace till within a very short time he had won thousands of converts to his side. Hundreds from all parts of the country came forward to receive ordination and entered the sacred Order, burning with the zeal and enthusiasm of new converts. The fame of Pagan as a centre of the Theravāda faith was thus soon firmly established. It spread even outside and crossing the waves of the Bay of Bengal reached Ceylon where the religion had suffered from Brahmanical persecution of the Dramilas (=Tamils) of South India. The Dramilas were none but the Coḷas who were at the zenith of their power at this time and they were making themselves felt in Ceylon. The Ceylonese king Vijayabāhu<sup>10</sup> (1065—1120) sought Anawrahta's aid against the Coḷas, but before any help



was available he was himself able to inflict a defeat on the Coḷas. But the ravages on the religion the Coḷas had done needed repair. Scriptures had become so rare and monks so few that it was difficult to convene a chapter and make valid ordinations according to the rules of the Vinaya. Vijaya-bāhu, therefore, sent ships to request Anawrahta for scriptures and monks<sup>10</sup> and the Pagan King gladly complied. He not only sent the monks and scriptures asked for, but added a white elephant as a present for the King of Ceylon, asking in return the Tooth-relic of the Buddha which was the property of the Ceylon king. Vijayabāhu was not slow to return the courtsey; he parted with the sacred relic and made a present of it to Anawrahta.

But this was not the only sacred relic that Anawrahta claims to have come in possession of. Earlier he is said to have secured some relics from Tharekittara. These relics he enshrined in the great Shwezigôn stūpa which he had begun to build at the advice of Shin Araham. When he had finished the three terraces, there arrived from Ceylon the tooth-relic which also was enshrined in the great stūpa.<sup>11</sup> But the monarch did not live to see the comple-

10 The account is given both in the *Hmannan* (I. 264) and the *Mahāvamsa*, LV. 4 and LVIII. 8 as well as in the *Cullavamsa* Müller, in his *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon* (1883) fixes the date of Vijayabāhu's request for monks and scriptures at 1071 A.D. or just after. According to the *Hmannan*, the name of the Ceylonese king was Dhātusena; while according to the Great Chronicle the Ceylon king was Srisamghabodhi, which, however, is argued against by the *Hmannan*.

11 *Hmannan*, pp. 88-89.

12 The Shwezigôn "is a solid pagoda of the kind so common all over Burma; yet it attracts worshippers daily while the finer temples built by his successors are deserted. Its popularity is due to the exceptional sanctity of the relics, and to the shrines of the entire pantheon of the thirty-seven Nāt spirits who, as if were, have come circling round in homage to these relics. If anyone doubts the debt Burma owes to Buddhism, or wishes to see what she would have been without it, let him wander here and contemplate these barbarous images of the heathen gods. Asked why he allowed them, Anawrahta said, 'Men will not come for the sake

tion of this great undertaking.<sup>12</sup> The great stūpa was completed by his worthy son Kyanzittha. Anawrahta built quite a good number of other shrines, all dedicated to the religion to which he became devotedly attached. All these are said to contain the sacred tooth-relic of the Buddha which, in response to Anawrahta's prayer were miraculously reproduced from the Tooth-relic of Ceylon !

Anawrahta's contribution to the newly-established faith was yet something more than building of these shrines and these mad campaigns and prayers for sacred relics. He sent four ministers of the religion to bring copies of the Three Piṭakas from Ceylon, and having brought them, he had them compared by Shin Arahan with the copies of the Piṭakas brought by the latter from Sudhammanagara or Thaton. Shin Arahan also edited and corrected them in the light of the copies brought from Ceylon which admittedly were more reliable.<sup>13</sup>

Anawrahta's is a heroic and remarkable personality in the history of Burma. In a single lifetime he had established and spread a true religion throughout a large portion of his dominions, and suppressed all heretical sects and beliefs; from a chieftainship he raised his principality to the position of the most powerful political authority in Burma, and by introducing the Talaing culture of Lower Burma to civilise the north, he set the people of Mramma-desa (as distinct from Ramaññadesa) on the road to culture and civilisation that made the annals of the Pagan dynasty a most glorious record in the history of mankind.

Anawrahta was unfortunate in his successor, Sawlu ; for according to the *Hmannan*, he "lived only in the enjoyment of worldly pleasures. He preferred not his father's

of the true faith. Let them come for their old gods, and gradually they will be won over." Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 33.

13 *Anuruddharājā yeva cattāro mahāyodhe Sihalaḍḍipam pesetvā tato piṭakattayam ānesi. Sihalaḍḍipato ānīṭapiṭakattayena. Sudhammapurato ānīṭapiṭakattayam aññamaññam yojetvā samsandevā Arihantathero Vīmāṃsesi. Sāsanaṇaṃsa*, p. 64.

work of merit." But in Kyanzittha Buddhism found a loyal and devoted servant.

He completed the building of the Shwezigôn, but his chief work of merit was the building of the Ānanda Temple, the one monument which has spread the name of Pagan beyond the boundaries of Burma, and which, with its white garb bathed in the tropical sun, shines as the crown jewel on the head of Far-Eastern architecture. There at the end of the western aisle in the darkness of the lofty but narrow vaults stands a colossal statue of Buddha Gotama flanked by two kneeling figures with hands clasped in adoration. One is a crowned head, that of the devout founder-king Kyanzittha, the other a shaven head, that of the royal primate, Shin Arahan, the teacher of Kyanzittha and the man who led him to the throne by the hand at the time of his coronation. Inside the first corridor formed by the outer and inner walls of the temple there are eighty niches containing sculptures representing the incidents of Buddha's own life until the attainment of the *bodhi*. The series begins with the request of the gods in the *Tuṣita* heaven asking the Bodhisattva to be reborn in his very last existence and to become the Buddha, and the succession of scenes follows the *Pradaḥṣiṇa*. Besides these, there are in each of the four porticoes sixteen sculptures, mostly repeating themselves, but representing like those of the corridors, scenes from the last existence of the Master. They include scenes like the Pālileyya incident, the descent from the Trayastrīṃsa heaven, the subjection of the Nālagiri elephant, *etc.* In the small vaulted passages intersecting the corridors more stone sculptures are found representing scenes mostly belonging to the *durenidāna* cycle and illustrating the anterior lives of the Buddha, *i.e.*, the *Jātakas*. The eighty scenes in the outer corridor of the Ānanda Temple are devoted to represent the principal events of the Bodhisattva's last existence, from the time of his birth to that of his attainment of the *bodhi*. A few of the events of this subsequent career up to the *Parinirvāṇa*

are also represented in the Ānanda, but they are all on the walls of the four porticoes. It has been very ably argued by Mon. Duroiselle that the present arrangement and distribution of the scenes on the sculptures of the porticoes was not the original one; and he has been able to show that all the events subsequent to the attainment of Buddhahood must certainly have been represented in the sixty-four scenes of the porticoes. Whatever that may have been, the arrangement of the scenes on the walls of the corridor as well as those few of the porticoes follows a very well-known order, that of the *Nidānakathā*. It proves, therefore, that in addition to every important event in the life of the Master which had by this time become well-known in Upper Burma, the *Nidānakathā* was also known and studied at least by those who ministered to the religious needs of the people.

But it was not the incidents of the last existence alone of the Master that were known to the new converts of the faith; the Jātaka stories also were equally well-known by this time and the Ānanda bears eloquent testimony to it. The basement and the terraces of the temple are ornamented with a huge wealth of glazed terracotta plaques. The plaques on the basement walls relate themselves to two important phases of the Buddha's attainment of the 'bodhi,' namely, the attack of Māra and his retinue on the Buddha, and the eventual jubilation among the gods who came to glorify him. Each plaque is inscribed at the bottom with a short legend in Talaing. The second storey is also similarly embellished; here also there is a wealth of glazed tiles illustrating five hundred and thirty-seven Jātakas, the entire series of minor Jātaka stories. The jubilation plaques are numbered and the title of each Jātaka is given in Pāli. On the walls of the upper terraces there are nearly four hundred bas-reliefs which illustrate the last Ten Great Jātakas, so that each Jātaka story occupies on an average, about forty bas-reliefs for itself, each relief being explained by a legend in Talaing inscribed at the bottom. M. Duroi-



selle notices this series to be a most interesting and unique feature which is found only at the Ānanda. According to his counting, the number of these reliefs from the basement to the uppermost terrace is one thousand four hundred and seventy-two.<sup>14</sup>

My purpose in giving an account of the stone-sculptures and terracotta plaques of the Ānanda is to show the extent to which Theravāda Buddhism with its myths and legends had already taken root in Pagan in less than two scores of years since it had been introduced for the first time in the royal capital. These sculptures and terracotta plaques served as illustrative texts to hundreds of those who daily flocked to worship at the temple. In employing them as such, Kyanzittha and Shin Arahan only adopted an usual and well-known method of popularising the religion among the ordinary people and it was perhaps one of their methods of the propagation of the Faith. The same method was also employed in later temples and *stūpas*, obviously with the same object in view, for example, in the Petleik temples, in the Shwezigôn, in the Mingalazedi, in the Nagayôn and others. These sculptures and the terracotta plaques are of special historical importance inasmuch as they afford us indubitable proof of the knowledge of the *Jātakas* and the *Nidānakathā* in Upper Burma in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

It was in the seclusion of the Ānanda temple that Acariya Dhammasenāpati, according to the *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 63, 73), wrote his *Kārikā*, a grammatical work in Pāli. He is also said to have composed other works, the *Eti-māsamidipani* and the *Manohāra*. The same source tells

14 Duroiselle, *The Stone Sculptures in the Ananda Temple*, A.R.A.S.I., 1913-14, where he gives a long and full description of the temple and the stone sculptures inside it. An elaborate account of the bas-reliefs and the explanatory epigraphs is, however, continued in *Ep. Birm.*, II, i and ii.

us that Dhammasenāpati wrote his *Kārikā* at the instance of the monk Nānagambhīra who was a resident of Pagan.<sup>15</sup>

What a softening influence Buddhism wielded on the lives of these sturdy and swarthy tyrants will be evident from an extract from one of the inscriptions set up by Kyanzittha.

“With loving kindness.....shall king Kyanzittha wipe away the tears of those who are parted from their trusted friends.....his people shall be unto him as a child to its mother’s bosom.....he shall soften the hearts of those who intend evil. With wisdom, which is even as a hand, shall king Kyanzittha draw open the bar of the Gate of Heaven, which is made of gold and wrought with gems.”<sup>16</sup>

It ranks almost as literature, and the typically Buddhist sentiment in it is unmistakable. It is a pity that neither the local chronicles, nor the *Sāsanavaṃsa* dwells at any length on the service Kyanzittha rendered to the cause of the religion. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* has not even a passing reference to the great personality or to his work. Yet, besides being personally deeply influenced by the new religion and performing various works of merit, it was he who was the first Burmese king to restore the holy shrine at Bodh-Gayā, and who in his zeal and enthusiasm for the new faith exhorted a Coḷa king to accept Buddhism. His exhortations were successful.

“King Kyanzittha gathered together gems of divers kinds and sent them in a ship to build up the holy temple at Budhgayā, and to offer lights which should burn for ever there. Thereafter, king Kyanzittha builded anew, making them finer than before, the great buildings of king Asoka for they were old and in ruins. In this respect no other king is like king Kyanzittha. Thereafter, he presented all the lords of the Saṃgha who dwelt in the city of

<sup>15</sup> Bode, *Pāli Literature of Burma*, p. 16 and f. n. I.

<sup>16</sup> *The Great Talaga Inscription of the Shwezigōn Pagoda*, Ep. Birmanica, I, ii, 90.

Arimaddanapura with four necessities on every occasion. In that respect, too, no other king is like him.....<sup>17</sup>

"At the same time king Kyanzittha heard that a Coḷa lord had arrived, and he bethought him that apart from the Three Jewels there is no other single thing that can give great happiness in this world or in the world to come, or confer Nirvāna upon all beings: the Three Jewels alone can give it. Therefore, he wrote concerning the grace of the Jewel of the Lord (Buddha), the Jewel of his Law (Dhamma) and the Jewel of his Clergy (Saṅgha), with vermilion ink upon leaf of gold and sent it unto the Coḷa Lord. Thus hearing the grace of the Buddha, the Law and the Clergy by reason of king Kyanzittha's sending word unto him, the Coḷa lord with all his retinue cast off his adhesion to false doctrine; he saw, he was pleased, he was happy....."<sup>18</sup>

Kyanzittha was fortunate in his love-child born of Thambula in exile. For when having reigned for 28 years he fell sick unto death, this son, Yazakumara, made solemn offerings and set up a stone-post which is still in its place, at the Myazedi Pagoda south of Pagan.

The post is inscribed on its four faces with the same matter in four different languages—Pāli, Talaing, Pyu and Burmese. Extracts from it are worth quoting for the sentiments expressed, as well as for incidental references to a number of venerable *theras* of the time, and to the practice of dedication of slaves to the shrines.

"Glory and honour be to Buddha! In the one thousand six hundred and twenty-eighth year of religion (1084 A.D.) Kyanzittha became king in this city of Arimaddanapura.....Now the king having reigned twenty-eight years fell sick unto death. Then Yazakumar.....remembering the benefits wherewith the king had nourished him, made a golden Buddha and went into the presence and

17 *The Third Talaing Inscription at the Shwesandaw Pagoda, Prome, Ep. Birminica*, I, ii, 153.

18 *Ibid.*

showed it to the king saying, 'This Golden Buddha have I, thy slave made to assist my lord, The three villages of slaves which my lord gave unto me, I now dedicate unto this Buddha. May my lord approve !' Then was the king well pleased and said, 'Well done ! Well done !' And in the presence of the image, of the primate, of the venerable Lords Muggaliputtatissa, Sumedha, Brahmamal, Brahmadiw, Son, and very learned Samghasena, in the presence of all these Venerable Lords the king made offering of poured water. When it was done, the son of the beloved queen made this cave-temple with a golden spire and enshrined therein the golden Buddha. And in dedicating this shrine and Buddha, the queen's son, brought up the men of Sakmunalon, one village, Rapay, one village, Henbuiy, one village, all those three slave villages, and made offering of poured water for the golden Buddha and the shrine wherein he had enshrined it ; and thus he prayed, 'May this act of mine be unto me for the attainment of divine wisdom ! If any hereinafter, be it my son, grandson, kinsman, or any other, oppress the slaves whom I have dedicated unto this Buddha may he never behold the most high Buddha Arimittiya (Maitreya).'<sup>19</sup>

Shin Arahan, the Primate, had grown old, and his days were gradually drawing to a close. It was early in Alaungithu's reign (1112-67) that he breathed his last, about the year 1115 A.D.,<sup>20</sup> full of years—he was about 80—and full of glory. Few in life are destined to witness so successful an achievement of the ideals and missions of their lives. Shin Arahan perhaps achieved more than he had dreamt ; his was a record of unbroken chain of success. It was a mere chance that brought him before the king, and once the king was won over, the rest followed almost as a matter of course till finally he saw himself as the Primate of the kingdom and the acknowledged head of a church organi-

19 *Myazedi* Inscription, *Ep. Birminica*, I, i.

20 *An. Rep. A.S.B.*, 1919, p. 23.



sation that embraced within its fold hundreds of monasteries and thousands of monks ready to carry the message of the religion into the remotest parts of the far-flung kingdom. He performed almost a miracle; in almost a lifetime he with the help of his patrons was successful in keeping the degenerate Aris at bay and putting a definite check to their vile and abominable practices, and in establishing in the place of crude and primitive beliefs in heathen 'Nats,' one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. It is due to him than to any body else that Burma owes to-day her allegiance to Theravāda Buddhism and the Burmese people their admission into the world of culture and civilisation.

Shin Arahan was succeeded by Panthagu, son of Seinnyekmin, as Primate. His royal disciple, Alaungsithu, was a devout and faithful follower of the religion. Along with the elevation of Panthagu to the position Archbishop, 'the king presented the elder Ānanda and the elder Bodhi, both men fulfilled with all virtuous qualities, with golden litters of state and pole and awning.' He also exhorted Letyaminnan, the prince of Arakan, who was restored by the Pagan king to the throne of his fathers, to repair the shrine at Buddhagayā which had been subject to damage. Letyaminnan, therefore, under the guidance of Panthagu, to the Primate, sent an envoy with men and money to Bodhgayā to do all that was necessary to repair the sacred shrine of Vajrāsana. The work was executed with care and the fact is recorded on stone at the spot.<sup>21</sup> He built the great Thatpyiññu (Sabbāñña—All-knowing or Omniscient, i.e., the Buddha) temple in 1144, dedicated to the Buddha and the Shwegu which stands close by. In this small but beautiful temple he was destined to die, and on its walls can still be read the long inscription re-

<sup>21</sup> Rajendralal Mitra, *Buddhagayā*; Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 78; *An. Rep. A.S.B.* 1911, p. 181.



ording in Pāli verse the beautiful and typically Buddhist ideas and sentiments of the king :

"By this my gift, whatever boon I seek,  
It is the best of boons, to profit all;  
by this abundant merit I desire  
Here nor hereafter no angelic pomp  
of Brahmas, Suras, Māras' ; nor the state  
And splendours of a monarch ; nay, not even  
To be the pupil of the conqueror.  
But I would build a causeway sheer athwart  
The river of *Sarīsāra*, and all folk  
Would speed across thereby until they reach  
The Blessed City. I myself would cross  
And drag the drowning over. Aye, myself  
Tamed, I would tame the wilful; comforted,  
Comfort the timid; wakened, wake the asleep;  
Cool, cool the burning; freed, set free the bound.  
Tranquil and led by the good doctrines I  
Would hatred calm. The three immortal states,  
Greed, hate, delusion, rooted all in self,  
O may they die, wherever born in me !

\* \* \* \*

*As the best of men*

*Forsaking worldly wealth and worthless fame  
Fled, for he saw their meaning...so would I  
All worldly wealth forsaking draw me near  
Religion and the threefold course ensue.*

I would fulfil hereafter, great and small,  
Those rules the Teacher gave for our behoof.  
Borne through the elements the spotless moon  
Outdazzles all the constellated stars;  
So I delighting in the Master's lore,  
The Saint's Religion, virtuously yoked,  
Would shine among disciples, I would know  
*Sutta*, and *Abhidhamma*, *Vinaya*,  
The Master's mind, his ninefold doctrines fraught

With words and meaning. By the Conqueror's Law  
 I would do good to others and myself.  
 What the great Sage forbids I would not do.

\* \* \* \*

By merits of this act I would behold  
 Mettaya, captain of the world, *endued*  
*With two and thirty emblems*, where he walks  
 Enhaloed on a rainbow pathway fair.

\* \* \* \*

There might I hear good Law, and bending low  
 Offer the four things needful to the Lord  
 And all his monks, till clad in virtues eight,  
 Informed by such a Teacher, I become  
 Buddha in the eyes of spirits and Men.<sup>22</sup>

Alaungsithu's death was followed by a fratricidal struggle between the two brothers, Narathu and Minshinsaw. At the request of Narathu, Panthagu, the Primate, had to intervene, but the intervention led to unfortunate results and Panthagu in scorn and disgust left the shores of Burma and went to Ceylon, refusing to live in a kingdom ruled over by so vile a king as Narathu. The incidents leading to this unhappy sequel is briefly but vividly related in the *Hmannan*, and it is difficult for a modern historian to improve upon the account. When Minshinsaw heard that his royal father, Alaungsithu, was no more, he began marching with his army towards Pagan to occupy the throne. Narathu scented danger, and designed a secret plot by which he was to secure the throne without a drop of blood. So he went to Panthagu who "was worshipped like the Lord by the whole country of Pagan" (*Hmannan*), and said:

"It will take long if thus he (Minshinsaw) marcheth with his army, and the home affairs of the kingdom will suffer. Lo! I, thy servant, am here already.

<sup>22</sup> *J.B.R.S.*, 1920, English rendering in verse by Maung Tin and Luce, "*Shwegugyi Pagoda Inscription*."

Call my brother, and let him come speedily with a sword and a horse only and ascend the throne!' But Panthagu, the elder replied: 'If I call him and he come, and thou abide without raising him to be king, I have sinned against the saintly Law.' So Narathu swore a mighty oath that he would shoulder his brother's sword and set him on the throne. And Panthagu the elder believed the oath sworn by Kalagya and went to the place of Minshinsaw and told him all. And Minshinsaw, hearing the words of the elder, trusted them, and he set him on a single barge of gold and came downstream. When he reached Lappan port, Narathu, according to the oath he had sworn, went down to the boat and shouldering his brother's sword, he raised and set him on the throne. After his anointing, his food was poisoned and that night he died."

Next day Narathu was crowned king and the whole people came to offer allegiance to him. But Panthagu, though old, would not do so. When he heard that Minshinsaw was poisoned and dead, he burnt with fury and anger, and going to the palace cried:

" 'Thou vile king! Thou foul king! Thou fearest not the woe thou shalt suffer in *Saṁsāra*. Though now thou reignest, thinkest thou that thy body shalt not grow old, not die? A king more damned than thou there is not in all the world! 'Nay Master', said Narathu, 'I shouldered my brother's sword and set him on the throne.' But the noble master made reply: 'A man more vile and foul than thou there is not in the world of men! And he departed and went to the island of Ceylon.'" (1167)

And he did not come back so long as Narathu was in the land of the living.

## II

*Mramma Saṃgha and Sihala Saṃgha: Monastic Scholarship.*

Narathu was succeeded by Narathein̄ka (1171-74). He had, it seems, neither the mind nor the opportunity to do anything for the religion which his fathers served and patronised with such great care and devotion. But his successor Narapatisithu's reign (1174-1211) is important for more than one reason. He will be remembered for his noble patronage of the religion, and more for the fact that his reign saw the first formation of the Sihala Saṃgha or Ceylonese Church in Burma and the beginning of the long rivalry between the Sihala Saṃgha and the Mramma Saṃgha or Burmese Church that continued to disturb the Buddhist clergy of Burma till it ended three hundred years later in the final triumph of the Sihala Saṃgha.

Narapatisithu himself was a king of advanced views, and devoted to the new religion; 'and in order that men might follow the Path and reach fruition in *nirvāṇa*' he built a number of 'works of merit,' setting up colossal images of Buddha in all of them. Among the bigger temples he built for the furtherance of the religion were the majestic Gawdawpalin, the Sulamani and the Dam-mayazaka; of smaller but nevertheless beautiful works were the Mimalaungkyaung and the Chaukpala. 'He succoured with the things needful scholars of the noble Order learned in Pāli, in the commentaries and subcommentaries, who practised piety throughout all the homeland, and they gave instruction in the books.'<sup>23</sup> Narapati's reign was peaceful and prosperous, and was one of the brightest epochs of monastic scholarship in Burma.

Panthagu, the Primate, lived in self-banishment for only a few couples of years. From his refuge in Ceylon he heard of the devoted patronage of the newly-crowned king, Narapatisithu, and soon after the accession of this monarch he returned home (1173) hoping to spend the

23 *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 142.

rest of his days in peace amidst the purer atmosphere of a more prosperous and benevolent rule. He was warmly received and was again treated as Primate ; but he was already old—about ninety—and did not live long to enjoy the king's patronage.

Panthagu was succeeded in the Primateship by a Talaing monk, Uttarajīva by name, a pupil of Shin Ariyavaṃsa, the elder of Thaton. Uttarajīva, like Shin Arahan, claimed to belong to the direct line (*ācariya-paramparā*) of Soṇa and Uttara. The religion in Ceylon had for some time been in disrepute, and had "fallen into soilure and decay," as the *Hmannan* puts it, perhaps again owing to Brahmanical persecution by the Tamils (*Draṃiḷas*). But Parākramabāhu proved himself to be a strong and resolute king; he saved the religion from Tamil persecution, and initiated a reformation of the church organisation. This led to a reawakening of religious activities in the island. The fervour rose to such a height that the fame of the Church reached the Burmese capital,<sup>24</sup> where it roused the eagerness and enthusiasm of Uttarajīva for a pilgrimage to the island. He took with him

"many disciples of the Order and went to worship the Mahāzedi pagoda in the island of Ceylon. Among these disciples was a novice of about twenty years of age from the village Capata, on the outskirts of the Bassein town."<sup>25</sup>.....When Uttarajīva the elder, Capata the novice (so named from his native village), and the many disciples of the Order reached the island of Ceylon, they had conversed with the elders of Ceylon concerning the religion, and, inquiring of

<sup>24</sup> Evidence of a very active maritime intercourse between Ceylon and Burma during this time is afforded by Ceylonese Chronicles as well as Burmese inscriptions of the period. See, for example, *Mahāvamsa*, lxxvi 10-75, for a quarrel between Ceylon and Burma in about 1180 A.D. when the Ceylonese king despatched an expedition against Burma.

<sup>25</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 142-43.



each other's lineage, they found that the elders in Ceylon island were heirs of Shin Mahinda, the noble saint, and Uttarajīva the elder was of the lineage of Shin Soṇa the elder and Uttara the elder. Then they ordained Capata the novice, saying, 'let us perform a priestly act of pure validity'.<sup>26</sup>

Capata was thus received into the Ceylonese religious brotherhood.

The ordination of Capata was to have far reaching results; in fact, it was the first frank admission of the superiority of the Ceylonese over the Burmese Order. Evidently the elders of Ceylon did not consider the ordination ceremony by the Burmese brotherhood as a priestly act of pure validity and the Burmese monks were not, therefore, considered validly ordained, the obvious reason being according to the Kalyāṇī inscriptions as well as the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, the *Hmannan* and other chronicles, that they belonged to an *ācariya-paramparā* of lesser aristocracy. However, a section of Burmese monks must have had a very great respect for the Ceylonese brotherhood and their monastic conduct and learning, for, when Uttarajīva, after the ordination of Capata came back with his disciples of the Order to Burma, he was hailed as the First Pilgrim of Ceylon. Already Shin Arahan had admitted the comparatively better reliability of the Ceylonese Piṭakas than those he had brought from Thaton; and now was admitted the superiority of the Ceylonese Order itself.

Capata did not return home with his teacher Uttarajīva; he stayed behind in Ceylon and for full ten rainy seasons he studied and acquired a knowledge of the Three Piṭakas and their commentaries. He thus earned the designation of a Mahāthera.

"Being now desirous of returning to Pugāmā he reflected thus: 'If I were to return home alone, and if, in the event of the death of Uttarajīva mahāthera,

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p. 143.

I did not wish to associate with the monks of Pugāmā in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, how could I, in the absence of *pañca-vaggagana*, perform such functions separately? It is perhaps proper, therefore, that I should return home in the company of four other monks, who are well versed in the Tipiṭaka.<sup>27</sup> After reflecting thus, he appointed Mahāthera Sivili, a native of Tamalitthi (Tamluk in Bengal), the Mahāthera Tāmalinda the son of the Rājā of Kamboj, the Mahāthera Ānanda, a native of Kāñcīpura, and the Mahāthera Rāhula a native of Ceylon, to accompany him.<sup>28</sup>

Capata with his four colleagues returned to Pagan (1181-82) after having observed the *vassa* in a monastery at Bassein. These five monks of the Order were called the "Second Pilgrims of Ceylon."<sup>29</sup>

Now, Uttarajīva had died in the meanwhile and was buried a few days before Capata and his company could arrive at Pagan. So when they arrived they went to the chaplain's grave and worshipped there. The demise of Uttarajīva gave rise to a very curious situation in the Burmese church organisation, due no doubt to the high-browed and supercilious attitude of Capata. But it is best told in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions which is quoted almost *verbatim* in the *Glass Palace Chronicle*. Capata is said to have addressed his companions thus:

" 'As the Mahātheras of Ceylon associated with our teacher the venerable Uttarajīvamahāthera (at the time of his visit to Ceylon), in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, it is proper that we should now perform such functions after associating ourselves with the monks of Pugāmā, who are the spiritual successors

27 The Pāli text of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions. *Ep. Birm.*, III, ii, p. 190. footnote 6. The passage in the *Hmannan* (p. 143.) is similar in purport.

28 The Mōn and Pāli text of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, *Ep. Birm.*, III, ii, pp. 190-91.

29 *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 144.

of Soṇathera and Uttarathera. However, our teacher, the Mahāthera Uttarajīva, who was a native of the Môn country, was formerly the sole head of the Church, but now that the Burmese monks have become supreme, we do not wish to associate with them in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies.' Thus, through pride, the Mahāthera Capata declined to associate with the monks of Pukhām in the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, and he performed such functions separately."<sup>30</sup>

It was thus that the Ceylonese Church or the Sihala Saṃgha, as it has been called in the *Sāsanavamsa* came to be established in Pagan. According to the Môn text of the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, this event took place "in the 124th year that had elapsed since the introduction of the religion into Pukām (Pagan), the Burmese country, from Sudhuim (Thaton) in the Môn country,"<sup>31</sup> i.e. in 1181-82 A.D.

When Capata had come back to his own country, he evidently returned with a strong faith in Ceylonese orthodoxy. He also believed that it was the Mahāvihāra alone of Ceylon that could claim to have kept the *ācariya-paramparā* direct from the *thera* Mahinda, and that the Ceylonese Church could alone confer the valid *upasampadā* ordination. Naturally enough, he was eager to establish the Ceylonese Order in Burma obviously to bring the Burmese Order in the direct 'line of descent.' But it was equally natural that the older Burmese school would resent and resist this claim of the Ceylonese Church. They could argue, and perhaps they did, with equal force and logic that belonging as they did to the direct line of descent from Soṇathera and Uttarathera, they had as good an authority to perform a valid ordination as the Ceylonese school itself. But reasonably or unreasonably, their argument seems to have carried little weight, and their influence was gradually on the wane.

<sup>30</sup> *Ep. Birm.*, II. ii, pp. 191-92; *ibid.*, footnote 7 of p. 191, *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 144.

<sup>31</sup> *Ep. Birm.*, III. ii, p. 192.

From the very outset the Ceylonese Church was fortunate in receiving the warm patronage of the king. The reigning king Narapatisithu 'conceived a feeling of great esteem and reverence for the five Mahātheras,' he 'caressed and regarded them beyond measure', and he gave all the patronage he could to this newly-founded church. He caused a raft of boats to be put together on the river Irrawady and requested the five Mahātheras to confer *upasampadā* ordination on the many monks who desired to receive it.

Many novices were ordained as monks. Thus they multiplied in the course of time till their influence and their following grew in numbers. The school thus founded by Capata and his colleagues came to be known as *paccagaṇa* or the later school while the earlier or the Burmese school was known as *purimagaṇa* or the earlier school.<sup>32</sup>

But dissensions were soon in sight among these five Mahātheras which resulted in the splitting up of the Sihala Saṃgha into four factions. The stories of these dissensions, not without their human interest, are elaborately told in the local chronicles, for example, in the *Hmannan* and the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, and are briefly summarised in the *Sāsanavāṃsa*. Of the four Mahātheras that accompanied Capata to Pagan, Rāhula was the most erudite, but his learning was of little avail, for in a great almsgiving ceremony held by Narapatisithu in their honour, Rāhula fell desperately in love and lost his heart to a beautiful girl. "He lusted after her and delighted no more in the law of the clergy but strove to quit the Order".....He longed to be a layman and made preparations to carry out his object. The Mahāthera Capata and three other Mahātheras "repeatedly expounded religious discourses to him, in a body entreated him to turn away from the course he had resolved to take." But nothing could prevent Rāhula from taking his course; he became a layman and went to Malayadīpa (Malay Peninsula). There the king of Malaya received from him instructions "in the meaning of the text of the whole *Vinaya*" and studied

32 *Sāsanavāṃsa*, p. 67.

the *Khuddakaśikkhā*, a compendium of the *Vinaya* written in Ceylon, with its commentary. Pleased with Rāhula, he made valuable presents to him which the *thera* accepted, and as a consequence quitted the Order, became a layman, married, finally settled down in the country, and was no more heard of Rāhula's deflection was certainly a severe blow to the monastic discipline of the newly-established Sihala Saṃgha.

Soon after this Capata died, and Sivali (or Sivili) Ānanda and Tāmalinda (or Tamulinda) remained to continue "to maintain the religion in splendour at Pukhām". But differences of opinion on questions of monastic discipline arose among them, and readily they fell out and each founded a new school for himself.

On a certain occasion king Narapatisithu presented the three Mahātheras each with an elephant. In pursuance of the rules of the *Vinaya*, Sivali and Tāmalinda liberated their elephants in a forest but Ānanda shipped it off and made a present of it to his relatives in Kāñcīpuram, an action which Sivali and Tāmalinda considered to be against the rules of monastic discipline. This led to secession of Ānanda who thenceforward performed his ecclesiastical ceremonies separately from Sivali and Tāmalinda.

A long while thereafter Sivali and Tāmalinda disagreed on a more important question of discipline. The latter "sought to advance the welfare of his pupils who excelled in wisdom, strength and courage, and by word-suggestion obtained for them" from the pious laity the four things needful. Sivali took strong exception to this indirect process of receiving gifts, referred to by a technical name *vacivīññatti* in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* and the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, saying that the Buddha had disapproved such gifts.<sup>33</sup> After some argumentation which proved useless, Sivali refused to have any relation with Tāmalinda, and both of them founded separate schools.

33 For the opinion of the *Vinaya* on this point, see, *Vinaya* (Oldenberg's Edn.) III, pp. 227, 256, V, 125.



"From that day forth four several sects of the Order were known in the kingdom of Pagan. One sect of the Order was of the race of Shin Arahan.....; one sect of the Order was of the race of Sivali the elder; one sect of the race of Tāmalinda; one of the race of Ānanda. Of these four sects that of the race of Shin Arahan who first came from Sudhamma city was called the Former Order. Of the three elders who came from the island of Ceylon were called the Latter Order."<sup>34</sup>

The Former Order or the monks who were of the religious succession of those that came from Thaton has been referred to in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* as the Mramma Saṃgha or Burmese Order as distinguished from the Latter Order referred to as Sihala Saṃgha in the *Sāsanavaṃsa* and the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, for the monks of that Order belonged to either of the three sects of the religious successions of those who had returned from Ceylon.

Sivali and Tāmalinda had already attained *nirvāṇa* when Ānanda died in 1245-46 (the year 607 of the Common Era).<sup>35</sup> But their deaths did not mean the cessation of the work, namely, the spread of the influence of the Ceylonese fraternity they had begun in so right earnest. Among their disciples and followers, especially of Sivali and Ānanda, there were at least one or two who grew to be as wise as their *gurus* and who were ready to carry the message of the religion outside the Mrammamaṇḍala or Upper Burma. Indeed, even during their lifetime Ānanda and Sivali had the satisfaction of witnessing the prestige and influence of the Sihala Saṃgha spreading in the Môn or Talaing country and the Martaban (*Pāli* ; *Muttima* ; *Môn* ; *Mattama*) region under the willing patronage of king Narapatisithu.

One may assume that the carrying away by Anawrahta of all sacred texts and almost the entire clergy of Thaton

<sup>34</sup> *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 146-47; see also Kalyāṇī inscriptions, *Ep. Birm.*, III. ii, p. 195.

<sup>35</sup> *Ep. Birm.*, III. ii. p. 195.

had practically strangled Buddhism in the Talaing country, and the realm had reverted to its primitive faith or faiths. Anawrahta's sack of Thaton was no doubt a severe blow to the religion in the Talaing country, but there is hardly any reason to think that the light once burning bright was altogether extinguished. Indeed, there must have been centres of the religion and monastic scholarship in the interior regions of the realm where Anawrahta's fury hardly penetrated. Conquering raids in ancient days were often confined to the area where it actually took place; the rest of the country was also affected, of course, but private life, especially monastic life in its seclusion and solitude, went on in much the usual way, and in those days of difficult communication in the interiors, it was not sometimes affected at all. Moreover, it is possible that the Talaing country, so intimately in touch as it was with Ceylon, Further India and the Indian mainland through maritime intercourse received from time to time emigrants of monks and imports of religious texts which infused new vitality in the old organisation which had been robbed of its glory through Anawrahta's exhibition of power. And then, the Burmese who had now come in possession of the realm of the Talaings could have no possible objection in the continuance of the religion they themselves had adopted in that country. It was rather likely that they would encourage further propagation of the Faith under the aegis of their rule. In fact, the Kalyāṇī inscriptions seem to indicate that a fraternity of monks, ecclesiastical successors of Soṇamahāthera and Uttaramahāthera, had been flourishing at Dala and Martaban regions when during the reign of Narapatisithu the Ceylonese fraternity came to be established there.

Sāriputta, a native of Padippajeyya village (near Rangoon) in the province of Dala, was a *samaṇera* of the fraternity monks who belonged to the line of descent from Soṇa and Uttara. But going to Pagan, he received the *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of the Ānandamahāthera, and came thus to belong to the Mahavihāra tradition of Ceylon. His deep knowledge of the Dhamma and Vinaya attracted

the notice of the reigning king Narapati who wanted to make him his preceptor. But as Sāriputta suffered from a physical deformity (one of the big toes of the monk was too short), the king could not offer him the appointment. But he "presented him with a great many offerings, conferred on him the title of Dhammavilāsathera and dismissed him with the injunction: 'Do you maintain the 'religion in splendour in the Mōn country'."'<sup>36</sup>

"Dhammavilāsa proceeded to the Mōn country, and taught the Dhamma and the Vinaya to a great many monks in Dala. The people of the Mōn country called the fraternity of these monks at Dala the "*Sihalapakḥhabhikkḥhusaṅgha*," and designated as the "*Ariyārhan-tapakḥhabhikkḥhusaṅgha*," the fraternity of monks who were already in the country and were the ecclesiastical successors of Soṇamahāthera and Uttaramahāthera."'<sup>37</sup>

The "*Ariyārhan-tapakḥhabhikkḥhusaṅgha*" came later on to be known as the "fraternity of the Mahāthera of the Krom (Kamboja) Market," and still afterwards as the "fraternity of the Krom Market," and finally simple as the "Krom fraternity."'<sup>38</sup> However, at that time in the city of Dala, there were two fraternities, the Ariyārhanta fraternity and the Ceylon fraternity.

The Ceylonese fraternity established itself also in the Martaban region where the Krom or Kamboja, i.e., the Ariyārhanta fraternity had already been in existence. But very

36 *Ep. Birm.*, III. ii, p. 196; *Sāsana-vāṃsa*, p. 41. The *Sāsana-vāṃsa* account is a bit different, but seems to be more plausible. Sāriputta at that time had grown extremely old and feeble. The king, out of consideration for him, did not like to burden him at that age with the heavy and responsible work of the royal *ācariya*. He, however, presented him with offerings and conferred the title of Dhammavilāsa on him. The king also charged him with the work of purifying the religion in the Mōn country which meant that he was to represent the Ceylonese Church there.

37 *Ep. Birm.*, III. ii, p. 196.

38 *Ep. Birm.*, III. ii, pp. 196-97, where an explanation is given why the fraternity was so named.

soon the Ceylonese fraternity in Martaban came, however, to be divided into five different sects. It may be observed that the local, *i.e.*, Mramma Saṃgha or Arahanta Saṃgha, whatever we may like to call it, so long as its power and influence counted in the religious life of the country, was one undivided Order and was never split up into sects, while the Sihala Saṃgha from the very beginning though believing in the common Mahāvihāra orthodoxy and firmly holding to the Ceylonese tradition, showed signs of dissensions within itself which led to the splitting up of the Order into different sects. It was so in Pagan, it was the same story in Martaban. It is no doubt very difficult to find out what was there in the tradition of the Ceylonese fraternity that led to such dissensions; but I think it may be said,—and this is indicated by the Kalyāṇī inscriptions—<sup>39</sup> that the Sihala Saṃgha was more concerned with the Vinaya, *i.e.*, with the rules of conduct of monastic life; and any infringement of the rules, or any new interpretation of the rules other than the traditional and generally accepted ones, by any leading member of the fraternity led to dissensions, and eventually to the founding of new sects, of course within the Order.

In Martaban the successors of Sivali (or Sivili), Ānanda and Tāmalinda, all of the Ceylonese fraternity, established three different sects. Besides these, there were two other sects founded respectively by Buddhavaṃśamahāthera and Mahāsāmimahāthera otherwise known as Mahānāga. Both of them were preceptors of the queen (*aggamahesi*) of Mutima, and both having gone to Ceylon received their training there.<sup>40</sup> They thus came to belong to the Mahāvihāra *ācariya-paramparā*, but they came back to their native country, they began to perform their ecclesiastical ceremonies separately, and thus gave rise to two more sects. No reason of their separation is given, but presumably it was on certain rules of monastic conduct. This will be evident from the fact, noted in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions, that 'the Cey-

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.

<sup>40</sup> *Sāsanavamsa*, p. 42; *Ep. Birm.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99, f.n. 5, p. 198.

lon clergy who were of the fraternity of Ānanda<sup>41</sup> screened (themselves with a) cloth to eat (their) rice. When people invited (them to a ) sted, they were not able to eat in the house, (but) returned to eat (in the) monastery.' And 'the Ceylon fraternity who were successors of the Pupils of Mahāthera Tāmalinda were styled teachers of the minister of the silk cloth screen<sup>42</sup> which means at least that they used the silk cloth as a screen. Strangely enough, it was on such flimsy and trivial monastic rules that dissensions took place giving rise to contending sects. Naturally, therefore, these sectarian differences on petty questions of procedure and discipline led to the degenerations of the religious orders. Such an unfortunate state of the religion is reflected in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions which relate rather candidly :

"In all these sects of clergy.....there were none who were well-versed in the Tipiṭaka, that were wise (and) qualified to come (and) investigate (and) ascertain (matters) concerning ecclesiastical ceremonies. The clergy of these various fraternities.....would say, 'We, indeed, are wise and qualified'."

and they, according to their own light would perform various ecclesiastical ceremonies, each fraternity going its own way and performing the ceremonies separately.<sup>43</sup>

Narapatisithu died in 1210, and was succeeded by Htilominle (1210-34), one of his five sons whom the dying king had enjoined to rule with mercy and justice and together in perfect amity and good-will. Htilominle was a devout Buddhist and the religion shone bright in his reign, though not with equal brilliance as in that of his father. He was the builder of his Sittana pagoda and of the Mahābodhi, an unsuccessful imitation of the temple at Bodhgayā, and the Htilominle temples, all in Pagan. He also completed the unfinished temple of his father, the Gawdawpalin. It is no wonder that he proved to be a good patron of the religion.

41 *Ep. Birm., op. cit.*, p. 198. f.n. 7.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 199. f.n. 2.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 199. f.n. 5 and 9.



But his son, Kyaswa (1234-50) was even more devout than his father. It was perhaps the Pagan Saṃgha that gave him the significant title of "Dhammarāja."

"He had compassion on all the people, both layman and monks, as though they were children of his house. He read the Three Piṭakas nine times over. Divers interpretations of the Pāli commentaries and subcommentaries, he pondered on it in the meeting of questions there was none to equal him. Seven times a day he studied with the noble Order. For the sake of the palace ladies he composed the *Paramatthabindu*, that they might know of mind and the qualities of mind, matter, nirvāṇa, forms of being and personality. He would not even lend an ear to affairs of the villages or kingdom. Whenever there was any enquiry to be made, power exercised, he caused his son Uzana, the heir-apparent, to dispose thereof."<sup>44</sup>

According to the *Piṭakatthamain* as well as the *Gandhavaṃsa* and *Sāsanaṃsa* Kyaswa was the author of another book, *Saddabindu*,<sup>45</sup> a treatise on grammar. Kyaswa's daughter seems to have been very much interested in Buddhist learning; to her is ascribed the authorship of a book, *Vibhattyattha*, a little work on Pāli *Vibhaṅgis* or case-endings.<sup>46</sup>

Kyaswa was indeed, the last great patron and protector of the religion and religious scholarship in the long line of kings of Pagan. He was unfortunate in his successors; his son Uzama (1250-54) was a pleasure-seeker while the grandson Narathihapate (1254-87) the last king of the dynasty, a swarthy tyrant. He built the Mingalazedi pagoda in Pagan, and set up an inscription which, though written in self-glorification, is, unwittingly of course, a sarcastic commentary written by himself on his life. What more could one expect

44 *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 185.

45 *Piṭakatthamain*, pp. 45, 70; *Gandha*, pp. 64, 73; *Sāsana*, 76. see also Dr. Bode, p. 25.

46 *Sāsana*, p. 77; Bode, p. 25.

from a pompous glutton who speaks of himself in the following way! :

"King Narathihapate styled Siritribhuvanātitya-paramadhammarāja, the supreme commander of a vast army of thirty-six million soldiers, the swallower of three hundred dishes of curry daily, being desirous of attaining the bliss of Nirvāṇa, erected a pagoda. In it he enshrined fifty-one gold and silver statuettes of kings and queens, lords and ladies, and over those he set up an image of Gautama Buddha in solid silver one cubit high, on the full moon of Kahson 636 (1274 A.D.). A covered way was made from the palace to the pagoda, with bamboo matting, whereon were laid rush mats, and on these again were spread pieces of cloth each twenty cubits in length, and at each cubit's distance on the way there was a banner. During the ceremony the princes, princesses and lords cast pearls among the Statues."<sup>47</sup>

How far removed, in attitude and sentiment, is this from the Great Talaing Inscription of the Shwezigôn Pagoda of king Kyanzittha, or the Myazedi Inscription of Thambula, or the Shwegugyi Inscription of Alaungsithu!

However, with Kyaswa's death, therefore, the light that shone in splendour in Pagan for full two centuries began to grow dim; and though life in the monasteries no doubt went undisturbed, monastic scholarship which depended mainly, if not solely, on royal bounties and patronage, suffered a great deal, while the activities of the Saṅgha, now without the favour and protection of the king, were perforce limited and curtailed. Thus weak and emaciated, the Saṅgha faced a new danger, the country began to show signs of political

47 Mingalazedi Pagoda Inscription, Pagan, of the year 1274, *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, 1892, p. 199.

"The Mingalazedi is a large *stūpa* so common all over Burma. Its coarse execution seems to symbolise the exhaustion of a realm; it was built in blood and sweat. For two centuries Pagan had witnessed the spectacle of a whole population filled with a passion for covering the earth's surface with pagodas and now she was perishing to the drone of prayer." Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 63.

unrest which meant unsettled condition of life, at least in the royal capital. These political disturbances reached on the religious life of the country and contributed their share, a large share indeed, to the 'dimming of the religion,' as the chronicles put it, at this time. But before we proceed to deal with that phase of the religion we must turn back to have an idea of the monastic life and scholarship during the brilliant period of religious activities under the patronage of the Pagan dynasty.

Dr. Mabel Bode in her excellent work, *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, gives a very good and complete account of monastic scholarship in Burma from the reign of Anawrahta down to the reign of Min-den-min. But no account, it seems, can give us a vivid picture of the literature and scholastic activities of the Kynazittha Onhmin or the Kyaukku Onhmin or numerous other monasteries of Pagan and the interior regions where away from the din and bustle of ordinary life, the bhikkhu conforming strictly to all the duties of the monastic Order, strove hard to master the sacred texts of the religion. There in the darkness and solitude of the library hall of the monastery he devoted whatever time he could, day in and day out, in reading the works most suited to his line of study, and writing down on palm leaves of his own, not for earthly fame or gain, but as a work of merit. The *Gandhavarṃsa*, the *Sāsanavarṃsa* and other chronicles give a long list of such monk-scholars and philosophers, and a longer list of their works, but even these lists must represent only a fraction of the good and continuous work that was carried on in the network of monasteries spread all over the country. No subject was too unworthy for their study; and though naturally Buddhism in all its various aspects and branches demanded the most serious and careful attention, subjects like grammar, logic, medicine, astrology, astronomy, polity, law, prosody, metres, and even war; etc. claimed their time and labour, grammar being one of the most important.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the list of texts in the inscription of the Common Era 804 (—1442 A.D.). See also texts mentioned in other records in

This may help to give us a rough idea of the busy but silent scholastic life in the monasteries continued through generations of *thera-paramparā*.

We have already read of Dhammasenāpati, the author of *Kanikā* who flourished during the reign of Kyanzittha and worked in the monastery attached to the Ānanda temple. But the golden period of monastic scholarship in Pagan began with the reign of Kyanzittha's successors, in fact, from the reign of Narapatisithu.<sup>49</sup> Narapati's tutor, Aggavaṃsa, was a learned *thera*, one of the most noted who dwelt in the monastery on the plateau to the north above Pagan. Aggavaṃsa wrote a grammar of the *Tipiṭaka* called *Saddanīti* (1154) which is still regarded as classic in Burma. Uttara-jīva when he crossed over to Ceylon on a visit to the Mahāvihāra took with him a copy of this work which was 'received with enthusiastic admiration, and declared superior to any work of the kind written by Sinhalese scholars.'<sup>50</sup> Capata, otherwise known as Saddhammajotipāla, the disciple of Uttara-jīva, was also interested in grammar, besides the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma. He is credited by the *Gandhavaṃsa*, the *Sāsanaṇṇavaṃsa* and the *Sāsanaṇṇavadīpa* to have been the author of the *Suttaniddesa*, (or *Kaccāyanasuttaniddesa*) which was composed at Arimaddana (Pagan) at the request of his pupil Dhammacāri.<sup>51</sup> He was also the author of *Samkhepa-vaṇṇanā*,<sup>52</sup> a commentary on the *Abhidhammattha Saṃgha*

*Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*. Ed. by Taw Sein Ko and translated by Tun Nyein, Rangoon, 1899.

49 A full list of authors and their works is given in *Pāli Literature of Burma*, by Dr. Bode. What I am attempting here is only a bare catalogue with a view to giving an idea of the scholarly activities of the monks just to give a complete account of the religion during the period. This catalogue is gleaned mainly from the *Sāsanaṇṇavaṃsa*, the *Gandhavaṃsa* and the *Piṭakatthamain*. My indebtedness to Dr. Bode in this connection is obvious.

50 Dr. Bode, p. 17; *Gandha*, pp. 67, 72; Fausböll, *Cat. Ind. Mss.* p. 49.

51 *Gandha*, pp. 64, 74; *Sāsana*, p. 74; *Sāsanaṇṇadīpa*, verses 1274-8; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 66.

52 According to the *Gandha*, this work was the only one written in Ceylon. The *Piṭakatthamain* classes this work under Abhi-



of *Anuruddha*, the *Simālaṅkāra* or *Simālaṅkāraṭṭkā*,<sup>53</sup> a commentary on a Ceylonese work on boundaries and sites for religious ceremonies, the *Vinayasamutṭhānadīpanī*,<sup>54</sup> a work on monastic discipline written at the request of his preceptor, the *Vinayagūḍhadīpanī*,<sup>55</sup> an exposition of the abstruse passages of the *Vinayaṭīkā*, the *Nāmacārādīpanī*,<sup>56</sup> the *Mātikatthadīpanī*, the *Paṭṭhānagaṇānaya*,<sup>57</sup> all dealing with Abhidhamma subjects, and the *Gandhisāra*<sup>58</sup> or *Gaṇṭhisāra*, a condensed collection of important texts. Forchammer thinks, however, that the *Suttaniddesa*, the *Samkhepavaṇṇanā* and the *Nāmacārādīpanī* were not the works of Capata, but were introduced by him from Ceylon.<sup>59</sup> Of these, the *Nāmacārādīpanī*, according to him, was a book on ethics, and not on Abhidhamma.<sup>60</sup> According to the *Ṭīṭakatthamain*, Capata was the author of another work, the *Visuddhimaggaganthi*,<sup>61</sup> a commentary on the difficult passages of Buddhaghosa's great encyclopaedia.<sup>62</sup>

The introduction of the Sihala Saṅgha by Capata intensified the enthusiasm among monks for scholastic work, and we find monk-scholars busying themselves in writing treatises mostly on grammar. Saddhammasiri, a monk of Pagan, wrote a grammatical treatise called *Saddatthabhedacintā*,<sup>63</sup> a book based on the Pāli aphorisms of Kaccāyana, and perhaps also on Sanskrit texts on grammar. According to the *Sāsanavarisa*, he was the translator of the *Bṛhaja*, which evidently is the *Bṛhajjātaḥ* of Varāhamihira, into Burmese, probably one of the first works in the vernacular.<sup>64</sup> Vimala-

dhamma works, p. 50. See Oldenberg, *Pāli Mss. in the India Office*, J.P.T.S. 1882, p. 85; Fausbøll, *Cat. Mand. Mss.*, J.P.T.S. 1896, p. 39.

53 *Gandha*, p. 62; *Sāsanadīp*, v. 12-13; *Ṭīṭakatthamain*, pp. 43, 49.

54 *Gandha*, pp. 64, 74.

55 *Ṭīṭakatthamain*, p. 44.

56 *Gandha*, p. 74.

57 *Ibid.*

58 *Gandha*, p. 74.

59 Forchammer, *Jardine Prize Essay*, pp. 34, 35.

60 *Ibid.*

61 *Ṭīṭakatthamain*, p. 37.

62 For Capata's Works see Dr. Bode, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

63 *Gandha*, pp. 62, 72; Forchammer, *List*, p. xix.

64 *Sāsana*, p. 75; *Ṭīṭakatthamain*, p. 68.

buddhi, (also called Mahā-Vimalabuddhi) another thera of Pagan, was the author of another important grammatical work known as *Nyāsa*, or *Mukḥhamattadīpanī*, a commentary on the *Kaccāyanayoga*. He also wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Nyāsa*,<sup>65</sup> and to him is also ascribed the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgahatīkā*.<sup>66</sup>

Aggaṇḍita, a native of Burma and resident of Pagan, wrote a treatise named *Loḥupatti*,<sup>67</sup> an important book which is not on grammar. But treatises on grammar closely followed one upon another. Subhūticandana, Nanasāgara and Uttama, all of Pagan, were the authors of *Liṅgathavivaraṇa*, *Liṅgathavivaraṇappakāsaḥ* and *Liṅgathavivaraṇa-ṭīkā*.<sup>68</sup> Uttara also wrote a *ṭīkā* on *Bālāvatāra*, the grammar of Vacissara of Ceylon, while the authorship of *Liṅgathavivaranavinicchaya*, another work on grammar is unknown.<sup>69</sup>

Earlier, a scholium on *Nyāsa* entitled *Nyāsappadīpaṭīkā* was composed by a noble man whose name is not given, but who was a grammarian of repute.<sup>70</sup> A very interesting but intensely human story is told about this author in the *Sāsanaṇṇa*<sup>71</sup> which seems to indicate that he was a noble man of rank when he fell violently in love with one of the princesses royal, Narapatisithu, the reigning king, agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the noble man provided he could produce a scholarly work. The noble man then presumably entered the Order and took upon himself the responsible task of writing the work referred to above. On the completion of the work the king evidently gave him the hand of his daughter, for he returned to the layman's life and was conferred the title of *rajjuggāhamacca*.

Dhammadassi was another important grammarian of Pagan. He was a *Samaṇera* when he wrote his work on *Vaccavācaka* or *Vācāvācaka*,<sup>72</sup> on which Saddhammanandi wrote

65 *Gandha*, pp. 63, 73.

66 *Sāsanaḍṭṭi*, v. 1223.

67 *Gandha*, pp. 64, 67; *Sāsana*, p. 74; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 60.

68 *Gandha*, pp. 63, 67, 72, 73.

69 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-75.

70 *Sāsanaḍṭṭi*, v. 1240.

71 *Sāsana*, p. 75; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxiii.

72 *Sāsana*, p. 75. According to the *Piṭakatthamain*, the *Vaccavācaka* was written by an author whose name was unknown.

a *ṭikā*.<sup>73</sup> Thera Abhaya, also of Pagan, wrote his *Mahā-ṭikā*,<sup>74</sup> a commentary on the *Saddatthabhedacintā* of Saddhammasiri, and the *Sambandhacintāṭikā*,<sup>75</sup> a commentary on the *Sambandhacintā* of Saṃgharakkhita, a scholar of Ceylon.

Scholastic work in the monasteries of Pagan continued unabated even after Narapatisithu's reign. We have seen that Kyaswa himself was an author of repute, while his daughter was also the authoress of a little work in Pāli cases called *Vibhattyattha*.<sup>76</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that important treatises should continue to be written. Sāgara or Guṇasāgara, as he is called in the *Gandhavaṃsa*, wrote the *Mukḥamattasāra*<sup>77</sup> as well as a *ṭikā* on his work, at the request of the Head of the Church (Saṃgharāja) who was also the preceptor of the king. Besides grammar, Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha was also an important subject of study. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* gives us a short story of the old monk Disāpāmokkha who took so seriously to the study of this subject that he mastered it thoroughly within a very short time. The other theras were astonished at this, and the earnestness of the old man was rewarded by the king who appointed him as his *ācariya*.

It is strange that we have practically no information of the state of monastic learning and scholarship in the Talaing country during all this time. I have already pointed out that there is no ground for assuming that with the taking away of sacred texts and many learned monks from Thaton by Anawrahta, Buddhism and Buddhist learning became a thing of the past in the Talaing country. Indeed that could not be. The reason, therefore, of our having no information

73 *Cat. Mand. Mss.* mentions three *ṭikās* on the *Vaccavācaka*, but Saddhammanandi is the only author mentioned, p. 50.

74 *Gandha*, pp. 63, 73; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxi; *Report*, p. 2.

75 *Cat. Mand. Mss.* p. 50; *Piṭakatthamaṃ*, pp. 69, 71; Forchhammer, *List*, p. xxi.

76 *Sāsana*, p. 77.

77 *Sāsana*, p. 76; *Gandha*, pp. 63, 73. Forchhammer in his *List* gives the name as Guṇasāra, p. xxiii.

about the state of the religion or religious scholarship in that country after the memorable sack of Thaton for well-nigh one century and a half must be sought elsewhere. And this is readily found in that fact that all our sources of information regarding our subject of study hail from the Ceylonese school or from some quarters having a great learning towards that school, not even excluding the Kalyāṇī inscriptions. The *Sāsanavaṃsa*, the most important source in this respect, is frankly of Sinhalese affiliation, and it is but evident that it hardly takes any notice of any scholar or any work, except in a few instances, that does not belong to that school. Talaing country, the Ramaññadesa of the chronicles, however, owed allegiance all this time to the older school alleged to have been founded by Soṇa and Uttara to which Shin Arahan himself belonged. It is only easy to imagine that this Saṃgha which was known as Ariyārhanta Saṃgha had a history of its own even after Anawrahta had robbed the Talaing capital of much of its religious glory. It is equally possible to assume also that during all this time the Talaing country had not been without its history of monastic learning and scholarship. But all our sources, unfortunately enough, ignore this history altogether. When, therefore, the veil is lifted once again and we get into touch with the Talaing country after about one hundred and fifty years, it is long in Narapatisithu's reign and at a time when the Ceylonese school had established itself in the Talaing country. Naturally, therefore, the first Buddhist scholar whom we meet with as devoting himself in furthering the religion in the Talaing country is Sāriputta Dhammavilāsa, a resident of Ramaññadesa, but ordained in the Sihala Saṃgha by thera Ananda. The one-sidedness of all our main sources of information is nowhere so clearly brought to prominence than in this instance. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* and the Kalyāṇī inscriptions relate the story in a way as if Dhammavilāsa was the first scholar and divine of the Talaing country after Shin Arahan, a fact palpably absurd in a country where Buddhism had been a living religion for cen-

turies and where a flourishing Saṅgha was all the time in existence. The modern historian must therefore lament that no scholar or chronicle belonging to the Talaing school or having at least sympathies with that school left for him any account of the religion to enable him to give a complete history of the activities, contributions and vicissitudes of the religion in Burma.

Sāriputta Dhammavilāsa, of whom we have already heard, is not known to have written any work on Vinaya or Abhidhamma or even on grammar. His most interesting and important work was on law; in fact, his *Dhammathat* or Law Code was one of the earliest in Burma, and was the source and model of practically all later Pāli and Burmese law texts written in Burma.<sup>78</sup>

It is somewhat curious that the monkish scholars devoted themselves so much to the study of grammar. Readers may have noticed that the majority of the works of this period, and also of later periods are on grammar, apparently an uncreative subject of study for monks who are expected to be more concerned with deeper matters and problems of life, and as such, with psychology, ethics and metaphysics. It is strange that so late a scholar, holding so important a position as that of the Saṅgharāja, as Paññasāmi, the author of the *Sāsanaṃāsa*, interests himself in grammar almost out of all proportion. He cannot conceal his predilection towards the subject in preference to others, more important; in fact, he takes delight in relating the accounts of those scholars who are interested like himself in the subject. In one place he is almost enthusiastic in recording how popular was the study of grammar even among women of all ages, and how even busy mothers of families of Pagan snatched time to study grammar;<sup>79</sup> in another place he relates with

78 Forchammer, *Jardine Prize Essay*; also his *Notes on Buddhist Law*. Dhammavilāsa's *Dhammathat* can no longer be traced; the book exists only in quotations of extracts in a commentary written in 1856, and in a Burmese translation of 1768. *Essay*, p. 29.

79 *Sāsana*, p. 78.



delight how witty women disputed with monks on Pāli accidence. This extraordinary interest in grammar may have been due to the fact that for all who were interested in the religion—and the majority of the population were—a knowledge of the sacred texts was almost the first requisite, and knowledge of the texts presupposed a good knowledge of Pāli grammar. But perhaps more than this, it was due to the peculiar orthodox attitude of the Ceylonese school—an attitude which also explains their very strict adherence to the triflingest rule on the smallest decencies of life laid down in the Vinaya. Dr. Mabel Bode has a very significant passage in the introduction of her edition of the *Sāsanavṃsa*<sup>80</sup> on this attitude, explaining the interest of the Ceylonese school in grammar :

“To the orthodox, scriptural warrant is everything, in the settlement of religious difficulties. From the word of the ancient texts, expanded in the *Aṭṭhakathā*, and further explained by *ṭīkā*s and *aṭṭhayojanas* there is no appeal. So the actual ‘word’ becomes the rock on which right believing and right living rest, and generation after generation of teachers devote themselves passionately to the study of Pāli grammar. The ‘science of words’ is held to be vital to the cause of Truth, and the writing of grammatical treatises rises to the height of a religious duty.”

<sup>80</sup> *Sāsana*, Introduction, p. 56.

## MISCELLANY

### Talānai

By Dr. George Cœdès

In his recent work *Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra*<sup>1</sup> Dr. F. M. Schnitger mentions (p. 21) a legendary king of Jambi (Sumatra) named *Sutan Talanei* whose son, having been thrown into the sea in a chest and then received on the shores of Siam by the king of this country, led an expedition against his father afterwards and killed him.

In considering this work,<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard Winstedt has recalled the fact that the name of *Tun Telanai* appears twice in the Malay Annals: first, as that of a descendant of Demang Lebar Daun, who became king of Bentam<sup>3</sup>; second, as that of an envoy of the Sultan of Malacca to Siam.<sup>4</sup>

It will be observed that *Talanei-Telanai* is brought into relation with Siam as well in the tradition recorded by Dr. Schnitger as in the Malay Annals.

It is probably the same name which appears with the title of *mahāsenāpati* in the inscription of Buddha at Grahi dated 1183 A.D.<sup>5</sup> When publishing this inscription, I read this name as *Galānai*, but in the face of the great resemblance between the characters *t* and *g*, I do not hesitate to correct my reading and to read *Talānai*.

What the inscription says of this personage who was the governor of Grahi, is altogether insufficient for permit-

1 E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1939.

2 *JRAS.*, 1939, pp. 647-648.

3 Dr. John Leyden, *Malay Annals*, p. 45 (written Talani).

4 *Ibid.*, p. 145 ff.

5 Published by myself in *BEFEO*, XVIII, 6, p. 34 and *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, II, p. 45. The exact reading of the date is Saka 1105 (*Bijdragen*, deel 83, 1927, pp. 468-469).

ting the attempt at his identification with *Talanei* of the Malay annals and of the Sumatran legend. The same name could have been borne by several persons of different epochs. But the interest of the comparison lies in the fact that the *mahāsenāpati*, who gave the order for construction of a bronze statue of Buddha at Grahi, bears a Malay name and that the name in the Sumatran legend is that of a king of Jambi having had some strifes with Siam. Now, G. Ferrand has shown that the king mentioned in the Buddha inscription of Grahi, viz., Trailokyarājamaulibhūṣaṇavarmadeva, bears a title identical with that of the kings of Malayū (Jambi).<sup>6</sup> And Grahi which forms the extreme northern limit of the possessions of San-fo-tsi according to Chau-ju-kua (1225 A.D.), corresponds to the site of Jaiya which is actually found in Siamese territory.\*

6 JA., XIe série, Vol. 20, 1922, p. 182, n. 1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, p. 196 attributes this comparison to me for rejecting it. But it seems to me to be worthy of being upheld.

\* (Translated from the original French article by U. N. Ghoshal).

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Ingalik Material Culture:**—by Cornelius Osgood, Yale University Publications in Anthropology, Number 22, New Haven, Published for the Department of Anthropology, Yale University by the Yale University Press 1940—Royal Octavo Pages 1-500, Plates 11, Text figures 133.

*Ingalik Material Culture* presents the technological attainments of a primitive American Indian tribe living in Western Alaska. Ingalik, or "having louses' eggs" is the name given by the Eskimos of the lower Yukon River to their Athapaskan-speaking Indian neighbours who occupy the course of the Yukon River between Anvik and Holy Cross, the lower Innoko River, south of Shageluk Slough, and the area southeast to the Kuskokwim River. The Ingalik are still in the food-gathering stage and pursue hunting and fishing as the most important means of livelihood. "The animal life of the Ingalik country is typical of the interior of Alaska", Bears, moose and caribou occur in large numbers in addition to the fur-bearing animals of smaller size. These fur-bearing animals exposed the Ingalik to contact with modern civilization.

The Ingalik rivers abound in different kinds of fish owing to their comparative proximity to the sea. Birds in this area are mostly migratory. On this background the material culture of the Ingalik has developed. Up to the end of the 18th century the Ingalik lived a life of comparative isolation, but want of furs towards the west of their country drove the Russian fur-traders to this region about the beginning of the nineteenth century and they gradually established five trading stations at different parts of this area. This brought the natives into intimate contact with civilized man. During the last few years of the nineteenth century this contact was further accelerated by the rush for gold and intensive proselytising efforts of Christian Missions. As a

result the white population doubled. In the twentieth century the airplane has put an end to the long voyages and consequent isolation of the Ingalik region.

The book is divided into three parts dealing with the purpose of the work, the data and its analysis. In addition to these there are five appendices, a bibliography and an index of manufactures. The second part of the book which deals with the data is the most important one. Here the author describes the different material objects manufactured and utilised by the Ingalik to satisfy their physical, intellectual and cultural necessities. The author has approached the life of this tribe from an intensely objective standpoint. In describing the three hundred and thirty-nine articles of Ingalik material culture arranged under fifteen heads the author does not bind himself to the objects alone, but also gives the various processes or culture-habits connected with them. Information on each item is systematically arranged and noted under three major heads, that is, name, manufacture and use. Under name, we get the native term as well as its English word for word equivalent. Sometimes the essential relation between the name of the object and its function is also pointed out at this place. Manufacture is noted under six sub-headings wherein (1) the material used, (2) the method of construction, (3) variations in size, material and construction, (4) the place where the object is constructed, (5) the time of day as well as the season or weather when the thing is constructed and (6) the sex of the maker and his age, where necessary, are clearly put down under their respective heads. Coming to the use of the article the author marshals his information under eight headings, namely, (1) utility or function of the object, (2) method of use, (3) variations in use, (4) the place where it is used, (5) the time of day, season or weather when it is used, (6) the sex of the user, (7) length of life of the article and (8) the sex of the owner of the article. Sometimes, under this heading, the method of inheritance is also indicated.



This method of presentation of the data seems to be new in ethnographic literature and has the advantage of laying before the scholar the exact information divested of the author's theoretical bias which often colours the facts. Throughout the book the author has kept himself clear of theorizing though he had enough scope and material for the same.

The author's estimation of Ingalik culture is given in the third part of his book where he analyses the information collected on the 339 objects. Certain general deductions are made therefrom. Thus according to him, Ingalik manufactures have a drab appearance owing to absence of decoration. They are mostly made up of curved lines with patterns of parallel lines here and there. Both these aspects of form are bound up with functional or utilitarian ideas and not with any conscious motivation. He further finds that spruce is the predominant material used in Ingalik manufactures and it occurs in about half of the items in one form or other. Next to it comes the caribou. Another deduction is that "more things are made outside in the open than anywhere else. This is due to two facts. First, a large number of manufactures of necessity is made outside ..... and second, in summer men choose to do almost all their construction work outside and occasionally they work outside even in winter .....". Mr. Osgood's analysis brings out another fact very clearly and that is the division of labour between the sexes. Most of the things are made by one or other of the two sexes and a comparatively few by both the sexes. Thus the woman specialises in the manufacture of twisted lines, tanned skins, nets, grass baskets and mats, birch bark baskets, skin containers, pottery, dry fish and clothing while the man monopolises the construction of primary tools, weapons, hunting and fishing implements, wood-dishes and bowls and ceremonial paraphernalia. But this sharp distinction in the sex of the manufacturer is not correlated with the use of the articles manufactured. These Indians are extremely "utilitarian in their attitude towards

the material world''. They make very few things which do not serve some practical purpose. In fact, out of the long list given by the author there are less than ten items which might be classed as ornaments for ordinary personal adornment.

The book will be useful to the scholars as a source book of the material traits of an Athapascan Indian tribe, but it has one defect which is inherent in the arrangement of the material. It does not give a continuous account but merely glimpses of the different segments of tribal life. The essential unity which pervades the life of a people and to which the different traits are linked up has escaped the attention of the author. In spite of this we welcome this attempt at delineating the material culture of a primitive tribe from a new angle and congratulate the author and the Department of Anthropology, Yale University for this excellent production. Indian anthropologists who go from village to village in search of ethnographic materials to be gleaned from different informants and would build theories upon their averages would do well to imitate Mr. Osgood who has practically collected the whole data from a single native informant, Billy Williams, a man of varied experience.

T. C. Das

**Prajñāpāramitāratnagūṇasamcayagāthā**, Sanskrit and Tibetan text. Edited by E. Obermiller, Moscow 1937, 125 pp.

As regards Buddhist studies from Tibeto-Sanskrit sources the late Professor E. Obermiller occupied a very prominent position among scholars of the present generation. His learned contributions are well known. But unfortunately the cruel hand of death has snatched him away very prematurely, thus giving a serious blow to the cause of

Buddhistic scholarship. The book under notice was edited by him, but it is to be highly regretted that he did not live to see it in its present form.

The book, which is in verse, is an epitome, chapter by chapter, of the *Prajñāpāramitā* doctrine as expounded in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. There are three commentaries on this work, one of them being by Haribhadra who commented also on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, and one by his disciple Buddhasrijñāna. As time went on, the readings of the book underwent much change, as says Haribhadra himself in the second verse added to the end of the text, and they were corrected by him.

The edition is based only on a single xylograph found by Prof. Tubiansky in a monastery in Mongolia. It contains both the Sanskrit text in the Lañcā character with Tibetan transliteration and translation. From the description of the xylograph given by the editor, it appears that the reviewer, too, has at his disposal a copy of the work exactly of the same edition. It was presented with two other books to him from China by one of his friends, a Mongolian Buddhist monk.

As could be reasonably expected from an editor of the celebrity of Prof. Obermiller, the edition is good, but it could be done better by removing some defects that have crept into it. For instance, on page 9, śloka 6<sup>b</sup>, it is not *labhonti* but *na bhonti* as both my copy of the xylograph and the Tibetan translation (*yod. pa. min*) show. On p. 9, śloka 7<sup>a</sup> *atha* should have been corrected to *yatha*, as is evident from the Tibetan reading *ji. ltar*.

Similarly on p. 16, śloka 24<sup>o</sup> it must be *jāneti* as in my copy and supported by the Tibetan reading *bskyed*, and not *jane 'ti'* as printed. In the same line we have *mahatī* both in Lañcā and the Tibetan translation.

On p. 22, śloka 13<sup>a</sup>, there is *bhānī* in the xylograph and not *bhāṇī* as corrected. In the same śloka, *b*, we have there *aha* and not *aham* though evidently the latter (Tib. *ña*) is meant. As the language and the metre in such works

are very irregular, it is difficult to decide as to how far one is justified in amending such readings. Many defective readings are corrected in the present edition in the foot-notes, but in many cases the actual readings are not shown though their corrected forms are given in the text.

There are also some printing mistakes. For instance, on p. 98 in śloka 1<sup>b</sup> one is to read *añjali* (Tib. *thal-mio*) for *añcali*, and on p. 99, śloka 4<sup>c</sup> *abhijujyati* (Tib. *mñon. par. brston. byed*) for *abhiyucyati*.

The readings of the last śloka (p. 124) are not certain. *Smeyam* in *d* in this verse is apparently a misprint for *seyam* (Tib. *ḥdi. ni*). What is *kaḷi* in *bahudṛṣṭisaṃkūlakāḷi* in *a* and what does *kūṣam* mean here in *c*? There is nothing like it in the Tibetan text.

There are some other minor defects in the present edition.

Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya

**Founders of Vijayanagara.** By S. Srikantaya. Published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore, 1938. Pp. 174

This work is based on a course of five lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the Annamalai University so far back as 1930. But as the author tells us in his Prefatory Note, it has been improved by the incorporation of up-to-date additional materials.

Since Sewell wrote his pioneer work, *The History of a Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara)* some forty years ago, materials of diverse kinds have steadily accumulated for the reconstruction of the brilliant career of the great mediaeval Hindu empire. To confine ourselves only to the intricate problems of its origin, a host of scholars have been working in recent times with the aid of the added materials to solve the riddle. Among these may be specially mentioned Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Father Heras and Dr. Venkata Ramanayya. The work before us is a notable addition to the growing literature on the subject. It may at once be

admitted that the author has spared no pains to deal exhaustively with all the points arising out of his topic. He often quotes extensively the views of other scholars not only when he attempts to criticise them, but when he simply follows their authority. Among his important conclusions may be mentioned the view that Vijayanagara just before its emergence as the capital of the powerful Hindu empire was familiarly known as Hosapattana and was a residential capital of the Hoyasala Ballāla III (p. 37), and that Ballāla III greatly assisted in the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire (p. 63). In connection with the last point the author indulges in a vigorous polemic against Dr. Venkata Ramanayya who holds that Harihara and Bukka were unfriendly towards Ballala III. We also note that the author supports (p. 75) the theory of Karnatak origin of the house of Saṅgama as against the Telugu theory advocated by Wilks in former times and by Sewell and Smith in later times. He even goes so far as to follow (p. 81) Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in supposing that Harihara and Bukka were feudatories of Ballala III. He vigorously combats the view of Dr. Heras who rejected the theory of Vidyāranya Mādhava's connection with the foundation of Vijayanagara. The author's conclusion may be stated in his own words as follows (p. 159-160): "The origin and establishment of the Vijayanagara empire was not born of any attachment to any particular form of Hinduism. It was a comprehensive movement taking into its fold all forms of the Hindu faith, including the prevalent forms of Jainism and other religious faiths of a non-descript character..... In this great work a number of prominent men of all religions played a part."

We have noticed a number of ships of which the most serious is Alberuni (p. 27) for Zia-ud-din Barni. The book has a good index. An up-to-date bibliography, a few genealogical tables and a map would have greatly enhanced its value.



**The psychological attitude of early Buddhist philosophy and its systematic representation according to Abhidhamma tradition.** By Anāgārika B. Govinda. Patna University Readership Lectures, 1936-37. (With seven Appendices and three Indices).

Anāgārika B. Govinda introduces his lectures on the psychological attitude of Buddhism with a few general observations on the evolution of religion and the course it took in Ancient India. He says that religion like a tree grows naturally under certain conditions and circumstances and is not the creation of human skill, and he likens the religious teachers to the artists who use their brains and hands to reproduce the tree on the canvas. He then divides the whole history of religion into three periods, first, that of magic (emotional stage), second, that of the gods (mental stage) and third, that of man (spiritual stage). The first stage in Ancient India was marked by the period of hymns and mantras, of ritual and sacrifice, the second by that of contemplation of the divine, of *mettā* and of metaphysical speculation, the third by that of analytic and synthetic meditation and of philosophical systems.

In the second lecture, the author defines the scope of Buddhist psychology. He rightly says that it is not a pure science having scientific interest alone; it is a science of practical application for the elevation of mind or consciousness. It therefore analyses the experiences of the average man as also those of men who have reached the highest plane of thought in meditation. He refuses to treat the Abhidhamma works as partaking of a scholastic nature, and he would rather find in them the formulation of the doctrine in a psychological fashion. He might accept the connotation of Buddhism as a metaphysical one, but according to him the truth is that Buddha gave the method (the path) but not the metaphysical truth, the ultimate. Mr. Govinda's opinion was held by a large number of European scholars before the works of Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu were known. It is time that there should be

orientation in the older view. His exposition of the three degrees of knowledge may be his own, but it is certainly not that of the ancient expositors, so is his exposition of the *Bodhicitta* which he translates as the Highest type of consciousness (*per contra* see Bodhicaryāvatāra, Chap. I).

The third lecture is devoted to the exposition of the four truths, the theory of dependent origination and the eight-fold path. We appreciate the author's statement that of the four truths, the fact of suffering is only half the truth, while the other half is the fact of happiness, but we do not follow him when he compares Descartes' *cogito ergo sum* with Buddha's *sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā*. Buddha, we are told, was "a genuine freethinker" and "he conceded to everybody the right to think independently". But can he be given that credit with his teaching of *dukkhā, anattā, aniccā* or *pañcaṅgikā* and can it be reasonably stated that all sentient beings endure suffering? Buddha is rational in comparison with the irrational doctrines of pre-Buddhist Brahmanism, but his teaching is not rational in the proper sense. Apart from our disagreement with some of the general remarks of the author like "centripetal and centrifugal tendencies" (p. 71), we must say that his exposition of the fundamental teachings of Buddhism is based on original texts and it follows the traditional lines which in our opinion should be adhered to as far as possible. His attempts at generalisations of Buddhist technical expressions and formula are indeed interesting and deserve a close study, so also are his charts and diagrams.

The fourth, fifth and sixth lectures are devoted to the exposition of the Buddhist conception and function of *citta* and *cetasikā*, which the author translates as "principles and functions of consciousness" and as "factors of consciousness". In these lectures he has gone deep into the analysis adumbrated in the Abhidhamma works, and has tried to present the orthodox exposition as far as possible in modern philosophical language. We cannot but appreciate his efforts to explain the abstruse subjects

of Abhidhamma by means of charts and diagrams. He has thus sought to explain the three or four planes of thought or consciousness, the states of consciousness in *jhānas* and *samādhis*, the *cittas* of those who belong to one of the stages of sanctification, *paṭisandhicitta* which undergoes rebirth and interrupts the *bhavaṅga-sota* and so forth. In short the author has not left untouched any branch of Abhidhamma psychology.

The value of these lectures has been further enhanced by the appendices. The author has taken recourse to a number of diagrams to clear up his ideas. But the diagrams, it may be thought, are not always comprehensible. On the whole it is an excellent work. It does not belong to the category of works written by scholars who have read Pali texts through translations and summaries, or find in Pali texts a complete replica of the Vedānta literature.

Nalinaksha Dutt

## Reception to Dr. H. G. and Mrs. Quaritch- Wales

The members of the Greater India Society had the pleasure of meeting Dr. H.G. and Mrs. Quaritch-Wales, the well-known Malay explorers, at a tea-party on the occasion of their visit to Calcutta in October, 1940. The pleasant function took place under the hospitable roof of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 4th October, 1940, immediately after the guests had been shown round the Society's Library and Collections by its energetic Assistant Secretary, Mr. J. C. De. The function was attended by a number of members and well-wishers of the Society including Mr. O. C. Gangoly, Dr. Nihar-ranjan Ray, Mr. S. K. Saraswati, Mr. J.C. De and Mr. Baijnath Puri. The President who was unable to attend owing to ill-health sent a message which was read out by Prof. U. N. Ghoshal, the Hony. Secretary. It ran as follows :

University College of Science & Technology  
92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta  
4th October, 1940

"My dear Ghoshal,

I am now an octogenarian and owing to infirmities of my health, I regret, I am unable to attend your function this afternoon in honour of Dr. and Mrs. Wales, the veteran Malay explorers. They have deserved well of us because of their continued and successive explorations of some sites associated with early Indian colonization of the Far East. They are doing for us our truly national work, as they are restoring to us some of the long forgotten vestiges of our great and ancient cultural heritage. May they

live long to continue their noble and disinterested labours in our cause. I wish your function every success.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) P. C. Ray,  
President, Greater India Society."

After the message was read, the Hony. Secretary made a short speech in course of which after referring to the similarity of aims of the Greater India Society and the Greater India Research Committee and to the cultural mission of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore to Indo-China and Indonesia, he complimented the explorers on the extent and success of their arduous journeys. Proceeding to thank them for the genuine appreciation of Indian culture animating all their labours, the speaker welcomed the project of association of Indians with European scholars in future explorations to Malay. Reference was made in this connection to the arduous Indian explorers of ancient times like Guṇavarman and Kumārajīva and of modern times like Sarat Chandra Das and N. G. Majumdar. Dr. Wales made a felicitous reply expressing his appreciation of the Greater India Society's work; he declared that in future the archaeological explorations in Malay should be undertaken by Europeans in association with Indians and he concluded by assuring the audience of his whole-hearted co-operation in this great task.

### Short Notice

We have been requested to make the following announcement :—

#### "THE ANCIENT INDIAN CIVILIZATION SERIES

"When the Adyar Library considered the scheme of publishing the Series, it was not anticipated that the international situation would grow so serious as it is at present. Considering the present position, it is better that such a big scheme be not undertaken at this moment. The scheme has not been dropped. Since the scheme is expected to have world-wide appeal, it is necessary to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of persons in all the countries of the world. Under conditions now



prevailing in the world, it is not possible. As soon as happier conditions are restored, the scheme will be taken up. It is only a general scheme that has been prepared. The details have yet to be considered and worked out. It may be necessary even to constitute a new Editorial Board.

ADYAR LIBRARY

1st October, 1940

G. SRINIVASA MURTHI,

Director"

### Lecture on the Living Culture of Java and Bali

On Monday the 10th March, 1941, Dr. F. Vreede, Hony. Director of Netherlands Centre of Studies of the University of Paris, delivered a lecture on "*The Living Culture of Java and Bali*", in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. There was a small but appreciative audience including the President of the Council of the Society, Sir John Lort-Williams, who took the chair. We reproduce below the synopsis of this interesting lecture in the author's own words.

"The unity noticed between the Hindu Civilization of the Balinese, and the Islamic Civilization of the Javanese, which strikes even tourists in the daily life of these two highly artistic, religious and equally cultured peoples, is mainly due to a common ancestral, Indonesian tradition, greatly influenced however by ancient Hindu colonisation. This common background manifests itself to the present day in their shadow-play, theatrical dances and a vast *ensemble* of social habits and customs of a retualistic magic or animistic nature. The characteristic feature of both the Balinese and the Javanese civilizations is nevertheless their spiritual and realistic view of life, which might prove one day a valuable contibution to a new world-culture."

## OBITUARY NOTICE

Louis de la Vallée-Poussin

(1869-1938)

By the lamented death of Professor Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, the world of Oriental, especially Buddhist, scholarship has suffered a loss which it would be difficult to make good for many years. His mastery of Sanskrit combined with his equipment in Chinese and Tibetan and his grasp of philosophical principles lent a unique value to his numerous editions of Sanskrit Buddhist texts and interpretation of the same.

Louis de la Vallée-Poussin was born at Liege on the 1st January 1869 and he received his early education in his native city. He gained in a brilliant fashion the Doctorate Degree of the Liege University at the early age of nineteen. The study of Sir Charles Lyall's *Asiatic Studies* decided the future vocation of the young scholar. He was initiated into the rudiments of Sanskrit, Zend and Pali by Charles de Harlez and Philippe Colinat at Louvain. He completed his studies in Paris where he was a disciple of Victor Henri and Sylvain Lévi and at Leyden where Hendric Kern taught him the language of the Gāthās. When afterwards his interest was centred on Buddhism, he added to his knowledge of Indian languages that of Tibetan and Chinese.

Appointed Professor at the University at Ghent in 1893, he continued to occupy that chair till 1929 when he retired to carry on his researches quietly at home. His professorial duties which consisted in teaching Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin left him sufficient leisure to pursue his favourite studies fully.

The literary activity of Poussin was concentrated almost wholly on Northern or Sanskrit Buddhism. He published diverse fragments of the Sanskrit canon discovered at

Turkestan by Sir Aurel Stein. But his name will ever be remembered for his monumental translations (with copious notes) of Hiuen Tsang's Chinese versions of the two works *Abhidharmaśāstravyākhyā* and *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*. These works reveal all his sterling qualities, sound philosophical knowledge, scholarly erudition and a genius for transposing one system of thought into another completely different from the same.

He was, again, a historian of religion and Buddhist philosophy. His masterly work in this direction is his *Le Dogma et la Philosophie du Bouddhisme* (Paris 1930). We owe to him besides a History of India in three volumes contributed to the *Histoire du Monde* directed by Messrs. Cavaignac & Co.

For several years he contributed a chronicle of Buddhist studies in *Le Museon*. In 1899 he assumed the editorship of this Journal which he continued till 1914. A refugee in England during the last Great War, he published at Cambridge in 1915-1916 Vol. XXXIII of this Journal.

The prestige which he enjoyed in the Buddhist world of India and the Far East was unparalleled. An unceasing band of Indian, Japanese and other students who have since won high fame by their contributions to Buddhist scholarship flocked to him for advanced study and research. A fitting recognition was granted to Poussin by the Japanese Government which presented him in 1935 with a commemorative medal on the occasion of the two thousand five-hundredth birth anniversary of the Buddha, a distinction which was accorded only to eight savants of the entire world.\*

U. N. G.

\* Based chiefly on the obituary notice by M. E. Lamotte in *Le Museon*, Tome LI, 1938, pp. 189-190.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde,**  
1940, dl. LXXX, afl. 3

*Koning Těguh op een oorkonde* by W. F. Stutterheim—Śrī Dharmavaṃśa Těguh Anantavikramottuṅgadeva who is mentioned in the Old-Javanese recensions of the Mahābhārata and is identified by Prof. Kern with Pūrvayavādhipa and Dharmavaṃśa of Erlangga's Calcutta-Stone inscription is the subject of this paper. Prof. Kern deemed this Dharmavaṃśa to be the father-in-law of Erlangga. Berg not only doubts this equation, but goes so far as to suggest that Dharmavaṃśa Těguh Anantavikramottuṅgadeva is no other than Erlangga himself. Stutterheim tries to support this view by making use of two inscriptions, viz., D172 and D33, which are joined together after a separation of 60 years. According to this view the inscription contains a statement, according to which Dharmavaṃśa Těguh Anantavikramottuṅgadeva turns out to be the great grandfather of Jayavarṣa (1104 A. D). The joint testimony of this inscription and of the Old-Javanese version of Erlangga's Calcutta-Stone inscription seems to indicate, according to Stutterheim, that Těguh and Erlangga are one and the same person. Stutterheim thinks that Těguh is the posthumous name of that illustrious monarch. The transcription of D33 and D172 is given at the end of the article.

**Tijdschrift, Ibid., afl. 4.**

*Geschiedenis van het Indische Archiefwezen van 1816-1854* by F. R. J. Verhoeven—Traces the history of Indian records in Netherlands India for the years 1816 to 1854, in which latter year the Minister Pahud permitted the publication of those records whose publication would not prejudice the position of the government.

**Djawa**, May, 1940—*De heerschers van Java I* by Koesoema Octaya—Gives a list of Javanese kings with inscrip-  
tional and other references.

*De stichter der Prambanan-temples* by W. F. Stutterheim  
—The epigraphic data of the Prambanan-complex present peculiarities of both central and East Java and are to be placed in the 9th and 10th centuries. The style of architecture also tells us the same story. Stutterheim supposes that Balitung who was the first king over both Central and East Java commenced the temple-complex at Prambanan and his work was carried on by his successor Dakṣa. The image of Śiva in the main-temple is nothing but the deified figure of Balitung; his immediate entourage are also represented in the accessory temples near by.

*De wederopbouw van den Śiva-tempel te Prambanan* by Ir. V. R. Van Romondt—Gives an account of the reconstruction of the Śiva-temple of Prambanan, which was completed after 25 years' patient labour. The work is a tribute to the foresight, patience and scientific exactitude of Dutch scholarship.

**Djawa**, July-Sept., 1940—*Een toornige Buddhistische heiland* by Ir. J. L. Moens—Discusses some images of Vajrayāna Buddhism, one of which is identified with Acala Mahākrodharāja (8th-9th century).

H. B. Sarkar

**Journal of the Siam Society**, Vol. XXXI, Part II, Dec. 1939.

His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat—*The City of Thawawadi Sri Ayudhya*.

Henri Marchal—*Khmer Art and the work of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*.

**Journal of the University of Bombay**, Vol. IX, Part IV., Jan. 1941.

F. Vreede—*Hindu Tradition and Islamic Culture in Javanese Civilization*.



**The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following books and periodicals.**

*Books, Pamphlets etc.*

- Coronation of His Majesty Prajadhipok, King of Siam, B. E. 2468.  
Inscriptions van Nederlandsch-Indië, Afl. 1, Batavia, 1940.  
Mann, G., Boelisch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst met Nederlandsch-Boelisch Register, Bandoeng, 1940.  
Mukhopadhyaya, Sujitkumar, Trisvabhāvanirdeśa of Vasubandhu, Visvabharati, 1939.  
Patil, D. R., Tables comparing Gupta Inscriptions and Purāṇic Tradition, Poona, 1941.  
Sadananda, Svami, Sumatra, (in Bengali), Calcutta, 1940.  
Wales, H. G. Quaritch, Archæological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya, Singapore, 1940.

*Journals, Periodicals etc.*

- Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. IV, Parts 3 and 4, Madras, 1940.  
Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXI, Parts I-II, Poona, 1940.  
Annals of the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Vol. I, Parts 2 and 3, Tirupati, 1940  
Annual Report of the Adyar Library, 1938-1939, Madras, 1940.  
Annual Report (1939-40) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941.  
Annual Report (1939-40) of the United Provinces Provincial Museum, Lucknow, 1941.  
Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. II, Nos. 1-2., Poona, 1940.  
Catalogus der Bibliotheek, F-G : Geschiedenis, Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschaap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Bandoeng, 1940.  
Ceylon Journal of Science, Vol. III, Part I, Colombo, 1940.

- Djawa, Jaarg. 21, 1-2, Jogjakarta, 1940-41.  
Indian Culture, Vol. VII, No. 2, Calcutta, 1940.  
Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI, Nos. 3 & 4, Calcutta, 1940  
Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. X, No. 2, Annamalai-  
nagar, 1940.  
Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Gauhati, 1941.  
Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIX, Part 3, Madras, 1940.  
Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. XIII, Part I, Lucknow, 1940.  
Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. IX, Part 4, Bombay, 1941.  
Man in India, Vol. XX, No. 4, Ranchi, 1940.  
Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Vol. 45, No. 2, Benares, 1941.  
New Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, No. 10, Bombay, 1940.  
Rapporten 1938, Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Batavia, 1940.  
Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, deel LXXX, Afl. 4; Ibid, deel LXXXI, Afl. 1, Batavia, 1940-41.



# THE JOURNAL

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### The Shadow Theatre in Greater India and in Greece

BY J. PRZYLUSKI, PH.D.

The history of the shadow theatre is not well-known because it has remained a popular art, apart from literature, up to a comparatively recent period. It is admitted that the most ancient records, the interpretation of which is doubtful enough, but which give apparently convergent indications, are all of Indian origin. We believe that a famous passage in Plato, the cave allegory, should be added to these notes.

In a clever article published in 1927, the Rev. A. Dies suggested <sup>1</sup> that, when Plato constructed his allegory of the cave, he "made use of a show, familiar to him and quite similar to our Punch and Judy show". The learned author argues from the fact that Plato compares the wall which stands outside the cave and partly blocks the entrance, "to the partitions placed by puppet-operators between the spectators and themselves". And from a text of the Laws (l.644d-645c) we know that, according to Plato, the puppets are dolls, set in motion this way and that by means of strings.

1 *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, Jan. 1927, p. 1

After reading the above article M.L. Roussel who had held<sup>2</sup> the modern shadow theatre in Athens to be the "immediate and direct heir of the Turkish Karagheuz" wondered whether the model transposed by Plato might not have been the real ancestor of the Athenian Karaghuez. In answer to his query M. A. Dies wrote, in a second article,<sup>3</sup> that "the shadow theatre may have existed in Plato's time.....but the model that he imitates directly and that he reverses, or should reverse for his demonstration, is a Punch and Judy show essentially similar to ours.....The ordinary public.....see the dolls directly. Then Plato turns the whole stage round, and it plays in the other way. The puppets are still set in motion from beneath, behind the curtain, and move on the top of it. But the public turn their backs to them and look at a screen, where their shadows may be seen.....Plato has not only imitated he has constructed....."

In short, M. A. Dies insists that a Punch and Judy show, exactly the same as ours, was the model for Plato's cave. Plato does not copy, he builds a shadow theatre "with the help of two elements, furnished separately: the puppet-show, and besides a shadow acting of some kind or other..."<sup>4</sup>

This conclusion does not seem quite so evident. We must pay the greatest attention to a possible circumstance that M. Dies mentions only to reject it. "If one wanted absolutely to believe," he says,<sup>5</sup> "that Plato reproduces a shadow theatre existing in his days.....one must then suppose that Athens has known in the IV century a Karagheuz arranged quite differently from the present Karagheuz. In this theatre, an apparatus placed behind the spectators' backs, and comprising first the luminous source, then the puppets borne up by props, would have projected shadows upon a screen hanging in front of the public." Now, this arrangement is

<sup>2</sup> *Karagheuz ou un Théâtre d'ombres à Athènes*, Athens, 2 tomes, 1921.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, April 1937, pp. 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 46.



not only that of the modern cinema, but it is also probably that of the early shadow theatre. Better still, the model described by Plato is in some ways nearer to the most ancient shadow theatre than anything that can be seen nowadays.

The researches of Dutch ethnologists<sup>6</sup> tend to prove that, in the ancient form of the Javanese *Wayang* the men could see the puppets, whilst the women could only see their shadows projected upon a screen. It is because the women were absolutely forbidden the sight of the sacred dolls that the former were placed on the side of the screen where they could only see the shadows.<sup>7</sup> When Plato imagines that the spectators' legs and neck are tied with chains so that they may not turn round, those prisoners' condition is not without some similitude with that of the women in the early Javanese *Wayang*. Plato's prisoners, like the non-initiated spectators of the *Wayang*, are forbidden the sight of the things which cause the shadows: in Java the curtain is the obstacle that reinforces the interdiction; in Plato's tale, the spectators have been chained first, in accordance with the same interdiction. This interdiction which seems arbitrary in the Greek text, is explained in Java as a tabu: it is removed for the initiated only, who can be compared to Plato's spectators when, liberated from their chains, they are led forth to the things, the shadows of which they have seen up to then.

Everything happens, then, as if Plato described, not a profane show, but a religious ceremony similar to the original Javanese *Wayang*. At this stage, the non-initiated would see the shadows only, whereas the initiation rites consisted essentially in the revelation of the sense of the mysteries and in the disclosing of the sacred images.

Where could these mysteries have been celebrated?

<sup>6</sup> See the critical bibliography and original synthesis in W. H. Rassers, *Over den oorsprong van het Javaansche tooneel, Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, deel 88, 1931.

<sup>7</sup> Rassers, *Ibid.*, pp. 350-359.

Not on a public stage, but in a sacred place, in a grotto for instance: because we know that caves have often been chosen for the performance of religious ceremonies.<sup>8</sup> We may assume then that, when Plato places the scene in a cave, he acts in conformity with ancient habits; this inference is confirmed by the most ancient records referring to the shadow theatre. Thus W. H. Rassers thinks<sup>9</sup> that the sacred enclosure where the Javanese drama is performed must have been originally surrounded by walls and reserved for the men, while the access to this was strictly forbidden to the women. Besides, G. Jacob has shown<sup>10</sup> that, if we combine Lüders' interpretation of the Indian word *śāubhika*, with that of the compound *leṇaśobhikā*, we obtain for the latter the sense of: "*Höhlenschattenspielerin*," that is to say: "woman who operates a shadow play in a cave." To this we may add that in India, at Sitabenga in the State of Sirguja, has been discovered a cave with an inscription of the 2nd century B.C., which seems to have served as a shadow theatre.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, it is impossible to say how the puppets and the public, evidently in small numbers may have been placed respectively. Another exploration of the site would be necessary. At any rate, the little we know fits in easily with the hypothesis of Rassers who looks upon the shadow theatre as a "developed form of a secret rite"<sup>12</sup>

We are allowed the choice between two hypotheses: Plato may have described, in the allegory of the cave, some representations of mysteries that he knew of, or, "with the help of two elements furnished separately, namely the puppet-show and a shadow-acting of some kind or other" he has constructed, without being aware of it, a show which

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Saintyves, *Essai sur les grottes dans les cultes magico-religieux et dans la symbolique primitive*.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 365.

<sup>10</sup> *Z.D.M.G.*, 58, p. 868, Berlin, *Akad. Sitzungsber.*, Feb. 1916.

<sup>11</sup> Reference in *Z.D.M.G.*, 58, pp. 455-7. See also Jacob, Jensen, Losch, *Das Indische Schattentheater*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 392.

is precisely the shadow theatre. The first hypothesis seems preferable to the other, because it would be hard to explain otherwise how Plato, having in view the Athenian Punch and Judy show, described a performance quite different from it in fact, and placed it in a cave, thus presenting an archaic show which modern erudition only enables us to explain.

From now on, we can combine together two explanations which were offered separately, and as mere conjectures. According to M. Cornford, followed recently by P. Frutiger<sup>13</sup> several features of the cave allegory were borrowed from Orphism and from the religion of mysteries. In the opinion of M. A. Dies Plato transposes a puppet-show. We believe that the two explanations, far from excluding each other, converge towards the same point and bring us back to the religious origins of the theatre. This interpretation, which would hang in the air if one examined just the Greek facts, seems confirmed by some recent works about the evolution of the shadow theatre in the civilizations of Asia.

An objection presents itself to the mind. If Plato were acquainted with a form of the shadow theatre, why does he not describe it more plainly and why does he content himself with comparing it with puppets? We must not forget that the show which inspired Plato must have accompanied the celebration of mysteries and, accordingly, must have been known to a small number of the initiated only. Plato could not have described it clearly and he was obliged to use comparisons.

Here we may consider a hypothesis which has been offered to explain the evolution of the Platonic theory. Between the reduction of the first Dialogues and that of the *Phedon* and the *Republic* a progress is noticeable, which has been looked upon as a conversion to Pythagoreanism.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cornford, *Class. Rev.*, 17, 1903, pp.435-441; Frutiger, *Les mythes de Platon*, p. 263.

<sup>14</sup> F.M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy*, London, 1912, p. 253.

It is difficult to prove that Plato was initiated in the mysteries; but he probably felt the influence of some currents of religious thought which, just like Pythagoreanism and Orphism, presented some affinities with the Oriental mysteries. In Plato, the world of ideas is an essentially mythical conception; one reaches it through an initiation that the cave allegory seems to describe faithfully. For Plato's disciple, the question is to grasp the connexion of the eternal ideas with the transitory things. In the mysteries, the introduction to mystic life was realized when the neophytes were made to feel the links which join divine reality with appearance, or, in other words, the myths with their representations. Originally, and in order to impress the minds of the *initiandi*, a working of shadows was used in the dark and afterwards the neophyte was led back to the light.<sup>15</sup> Later on, the myths are represented by paintings and carvings of religious scenes on the walls of an edifice; at this moment the cave is replaced by the church. But the habit has been long maintained of celebrating the mysteries in subterranean places, as proved by the sanctuaries of Mithra and by the Pythagorean Church of Porta Maggiore.

These considerations seem to me capable of throwing some light upon the connexions of artistic activity with religious life. In the inferior societies, the work of art was not specifically different from the thing that it pictured and the efficacy of magical rites proceeded from this consubstantiality.<sup>16</sup> Totemic dance is founded upon the same principle: by the mask and the tattoo, by the cries and the mimic, man identifies himself with his ancestral totem; he is a bird or a quadruped back again. At this point of collective thought, the shadow is an emanation of the being: it does not differ from the body that it prolongs.

<sup>15</sup> A fragment, sometimes ascribed to Themistius but probably due to Plutarch, refers to this coming out in the light after painful comings and goings in the dark; cf. Frutiger, *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Levy-Bruhl, *Le Surnaturel et la Nature*, p. 128: "What we call resemblance is consubstantiality in the primitive man's eyes."



The theatre, properly speaking, that is to say, a show where an actor is different from the personage which he embodies, can only exist in a society where religion tends to replace sorcery. Devotion and morality are now what uplifts the individual. To become the equal of the gods, it is no longer sufficient to wear a mask and to dance: from the humane to the divine an important distance must be crossed; between the ordinary man and the hero, there is also an interval. The suppliant is very different from Zeus, just as the actor is inferior to Ulysses or Menelaus.

Let us transpose this feeling into philosophical reflection: the universe is not peopled any more with a multitude of species situated on the same level and animated by a vital force comparable to the Melanesian *mana*; it is conceived in the light of a hierarchy of beings. Now a distinction is made between several planes of reality. This idea grows little by little more precise in the minds; artistic creation helps man to realize it, because the work of art is divine as far as it is inspired, and at the same time it belongs to positive things. The statue of the god, from now on, appears as a reality both divine and human. Looked upon in that way, the artist in general, the author in particular, seems to be the rival of the creative god. Then a transposition, which is characteristic of philosophical speculation, is sufficient for comparison of the universe to a huge theatre where human beings are the puppets, the strings of which are pulled by the gods. It is one of Plato's favourite images: "Dolls for the gods, here is what we are, all of us who live."

If philosophical speculation, instead of working around classical tragedy or upon dolls, exerts itself upon the shadow theatre, the analysis becomes more subtle. Instead of distinguishing two categories only, those who pull the strings and the puppets, the author and the actors, the gods and humans, one is compelled to separate three planes at least, because in the shadow theatre, besides the invisible gods and their images, there is their shadow projected upon the screen. Moreover, all this phantasmagory is only pos-



sible through the action of some light: suppress the focus that lights the screen, the puppets will project their shadows no more, just as in the universe everything seems to die out when the sun ceases to bestow its light. So that the analysis of the show furnishes four elements: a universal principle, Fire or Light, mythical beings, icons or puppets and the shadows of those icons. All those elements can be framed in an idealist system like Plato's: the Fire answers to the Supreme Goodness; the mythical realities to the numerical and geometrical notions, the icons can be compared to the souls of beings and things, and the shadows to the sensible things. If Plato had been content to be Heraclites' and Pythagoras' follower he would perhaps have imagined the following hierarchy: the Fire, the Numbers, the Ideas and the things. But the shadow theatre, where the shadows projected upon the screen are illusory and deprived of consistency, can also suggest radical idealism. India, where the shadow theatre is known from early records, is also the land of pure idealism. In the Oriental literatures, the universe is often compared to the playing of shadows, that is to say, to a delusive and unreal sight. This is an idea familiar to the Buddhists. The *Akṣyupaniṣad* indicates the gradual stages of spiritual progress. These stages, called *bhūmikā*, are seven in number. With regard to the sixth, the freed-alive is compared to a man placed inside a magic-lantern:

*nirgranthaḥ śāntasaṃdeho Jīvanmukto vibhāvanah  
anirvāṇo 'pi nirvāṇas citradīpa iva śhītaḥ.*

These verses allude to a show that can be seen in two ways: outside the lantern or inside it. In the first case, the spectator sees the shadows only; in the second case, he does not only see the appearance but also the cause that produces it.

The shadow theatre does not interest the historian of art and philosophy alone. It involves a problem of great im-

17 Cf. J. Przyluski and Et. Lamotte, *Bouddhisme et Upaṇiṣad*, BEFEO., 1932, part. 1, pp. 163 and 166.

portance for the history of institutions. We have seen that in the Javanese *Wayang* in its ancient form, the men could see the puppets whilst the women could only see the shadows projected upon a screen. This implies a ceremony where the masculine sex is superior to the feminine sex. But in Indonesia, in Indo-China and in India, the marks may be found of a social condition where the women enjoyed a privileged position and where the mother stood higher than the father. We may be permitted to wonder whether this social organization was expressed in initiation ceremonies especially designed for the women, the men being excluded or merely tolerated. It will be advisable to investigate whether such ceremonies have left any mark on the traditions, the literature or the theatre of Greater India.

## Political Relations of Tibet with India

BY DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR.

Some time between 581 and 600 A.D. an obscure chief named Srong Tsan united the scattered hill tribes and founded a powerful kingdom in Tibet. He had an army of about 1,00,000 soldiers and led victorious campaign to Central India, a term used by the Chinese to designate Bihar and probably also sometimes U. P. as distinguished from Eastern India comprising Bengal and Assam. The nature and extent of his conquest are not known to us, but it has been suggested that the era known as *San* and current exclusively in Bengal commemorates this forgotten foreign invasion of Bengal. The name of the era, *San*, equivalent to the last part of the name of the Tibetan King, and its epoch 593-594 A.D. both favour this hypothesis,<sup>1</sup> but it goes against the generally accepted view that the era originated in the time of Akbar by the conversion of Hijra into a solar year.<sup>2</sup>

Srong Tsan was succeeded by his son Srong-tsan Gampo.<sup>3</sup> He was a remarkable figure. He married a princess of Nepal and also won, under military pressure, the hand of the daughter of the Chinese emperor. Through the influence of his queens he was converted into Buddhism and introduced

1 Lévi—*Le Népal*, II, 147, 153-4.

2 Lévi's view has been refuted by K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS.*, XXII 172). Some other views on the origin of Bengali *San* have been summarised by D. Trivedi in *JIH.* XIX. 292ff.

3 The account of Srong-tsan Gampo is based on the following authorities :—

1 *The Chronicles of Ladakh* (Translated by Francke in *Antiquities of Tibet*, Part II, pp. 82-84.)

2 A study on the *Chronicles of Ladakh* by Dr. L. Petech (published as a supplement to *IHQ.*, XV), Ch. V.

3 Lévi—*Le Népal*, II, 148-152.

4 Sarat Ch. Das's account (*JASB.* L. (1881). Part I, pp. 218-224.)

(This is somewhat antiquated and should be read in the light of Nos. 1-3).

5 L. A. Waddell—*The Buddhism of Tibet*, Ch. III.

the religion in his country. The grateful posterity regards him as an incarnation Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi. He devised the Tibetan alphabet on the model of the Indian, invited Indian Pandits to Tibet, and had Buddhist Scriptures translated into Tibetan. He founded numerous monasteries and castles at Lhasa and made that his capital. He also extended the suzerainty of Tibet in all directions.

Srong-tsan Gampo was a contemporary of the great Indian emperor Harshavardhana. The death of Harsha, towards the close of 646 or the beginning of 647 A.D., was followed by anarchy and confusion, and the succession to the imperial throne was claimed by one of his ministers, who evidently held away in Bihar and whose name is given in Chinese texts as Na-fu-ti O-lo-na-shuen, the original Indian name being perhaps Arjuna or Aruṇāsva of Tirabhukti (Trihut, N. Bihar). According to the story preserved in the Chinese annals this Arjuna attacked a Chinese mission, under Wang-hiuen-tse, that was sent by the Chinese Emperor to Harsha. For reasons not explained, Arjuna killed most of the members of the mission and plundered their property. Wang-hiuen-tse fled to Nepal, secured 7,000 soldiers from Nepal and 1,200 from Tibet, and, returning to Indian plains, disastrously defeated and imprisoned Arjuna and took him a captive to China. It is said that Wang-hiuen-tse stormed the capital city of Arjuna, and about 580 walled towns in India submitted to him. Even Bhāskaravarman, the King of Kāmarūpa, sent supplies to the victorious army led by Wang-hiuen-tse.<sup>4</sup> The whole episode took place during 647 and 648 A.D. in the plains of Bihar, probably to the north of the river Ganges and not far from the river Gaṇḍakī.

The story reads more like romance than sober history, and it is difficult to say what amount of historical truth there

4. *JA.*, 9<sup>e</sup> Serie t. XV. (1900), 297ff.

It appears that the mission of Wang-hiuen-tse was sent to Magadha, and presumably the incident took place there. The Chinese from of the name of the Indian king may mean O-lo-na-shun, king of Ti-na-fu-ti (p. 300 f.n. 2). The latter may stand for Tirabhukti (N. Bihar).

is in it. For it is as difficult to accept the story of unprovoked hostility on the part of Arjuna as to believe in the utter rout of his army and thorough conquest of his country by 8,000 soldiers.

There is, however, no doubt that the Tibetan king, Srong-tsan Gampo was drawn into Indian politics, either in connection with the strange episode of Wang-hiuen-tse or in pursuance of his father's policy. Whether he actually conquered any part of Indian plains is not definitely known, but he is said to have conquered Assam and Nepal, and exercised suzerainty over half of Jambudvīpa.<sup>5</sup> (There is hardly any doubt that Nepal was at this time a vassal state of Tibet and remained so for nearly two hundred years.

The reign-period of Srong-tsan Gampo is not definitely known, but there is general agreement among scholars that he died about 650 A.D.<sup>6</sup> He was succeeded by his grandson Ki-li-pa-pu (650-679) who proved an extremely capable ruler. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon China in 670 A.D. and conquered Kashgar and the neighbouring regions in the North. In the South he is said to have extended his conquests as far as Central India,<sup>7</sup> but unfortunately no localities are specified.

In 702 Nepal and Central India revolted against Tibet. Nepal was subdued, and Central India, even if it did not send regular tribute, did not remain free from depredations. For, during the period 713-41 an embassy from Central India

<sup>5</sup> Lévi—*Le Népal*, II, 148.

<sup>6</sup> Tibetan historians give various dates for the birth of Srong-tsan Gampo, ranging between 600 and 617 A.D. (*JASB.*, L., 218). According to Dr. Petech "it is established with certainty that Srong-tsan Gampo was born in 569 A.D. and reigned from 620 to 650 A.D." (*op. cit.* p. 47-48), Lévi, (*Nepal*, II, 173) and Thomas (*Literary Texts*, 49) also place the king's death at 650, the latter assigning him the date 600-650 A.D. Francke notes that the Chinese date for the king is 600-650 A.D. (*op. cit.*).

<sup>7</sup> Lévi—*Le Népal*, II, 174. I do not know the authority for Sir R. C. Temple's assertion that "at this period Tibetan rule must have spread southwards far into Bengal" (*IA* 1916, p. 39).



came to China to seek for help against the Tibetans and the Arabs.<sup>8</sup>

Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, the powerful king of Kashmir, was also engaged in hostilities against Tibet and sent an embassy to China between 736 and 747 A.D. He represented to the Imperial Court, that in conjunction with the king of Central India he had closed the five roads leading from Tibet to India and obtained several victories against the Tibetans. After Lalitāditya the task of keeping the Tibetans in check fell upon the Pāla kings of Bengal.

The Tibetan king Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-97 A.D.), regarded as an incarnation of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was a very powerful king. According to the chronicles of Ladakh, "he subdued all the provinces on the four frontiers" including "China in the east and India in the south."<sup>10</sup> In a Tibetan text, composed not much later than the ninth century A.D., his son Mu-tig-btsan-po is said to have brought under his sway two or three parts of Jambudvīpa.<sup>11</sup> [This somewhat vague statement is supplemented by the following details in the same text.

"In the south the Indian kings there established, the Raja Dharma-dpal and Drahu-dpun, both waiting in their lands under order to shut up their armies, yielded the Indian kingdom in subjection to Tibet: the wealth of the Indian country, gems and all kinds of excellent provisions, they punctually paid. The two great kings of India, upper and lower, out of kindness to themselves (or in obedience to him) pay honour to commands."<sup>12</sup>

The king Dharma-dpal in the above passage undoubtedly refers to the Pāla king Dharmapāla. As regards Drahu-dpun, Dr. Thomas who edited the text suggests that it might mean "nephew, or grandson, Drahu," but it does not help us in identifying him.

8 Lévi—*Le Népal*, II, 174-5.

9 *Ibid.*, 175.

10 Francke, *op. cit.* 87; Petech, *op. cit.* 65.

11 F. W. Thomas—*Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan* (1935), p. 270.

12 *Ibid.*, 272-3.

The next important king Ral-pa-can (c.817-c.836 A.D.) according to the chronicles of Ladakh, conquered India as far as the Gaṅgāsāgara. This has been taken to represent the mouth of the Ganges.<sup>13</sup>

The facts culled above from the Tibetan texts throw interesting glimpses into the political relations between India and Tibet for nearly two centuries. How far Tibetan claims of conquest and supremacy in Indian plains may be regarded as historical facts, it is difficult to say. For the Indian sources do not contain any reference to any military campaign from Tibet, far less to the exercise of political authority by its king in India.

While therefore we must suspend our final judgment about Tibetan conquest and supremacy in India until fresh evidence is available, we must not ignore the possibility that perhaps the course of events in Bengal during 600-800 A.D. was influenced by Tibet to a much larger extent than we are apt to imagine.

The alleged victories of Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-97 A.D.), for instance, fit in well with what we know of the political condition in Bengal about the middle of the eighth century A.D. and might have played no inconsiderable part in placing a Buddhist ruler on its throne. The specific mention of Dharmapāla's submission to this Tibetan ruler or his son is of special interest. Whatever we might think of the Tibetan claim, a conflict between Dharmapāla and the Tibetan ruler is not an improbable one. In this connection we might recall the tradition that Dharmapāla occupied the throne of Nepāla which we know was under the political subjection of Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The expedition of Dharmapāla to Kedāra and Nepāla may also have some connection with Tibetan policy. Lastly the alleged conquests of Ral-pa-can (817-836) might explain the weakness of the Pāla kingdom under Deva-

13. Francke, *op. cit.*, 89-90. Francke assigns to Ral-pa-can the date 804-16 A.D. but Dr. Petech (*op. cit.*, 81) gives the date 817-836 A.D.

pāla which enabled the Pratihāras to conquer Kanauj some time before 836 A.D. The advance of the Tibetans up to the mouth of the Ganges would account for the sudden collapse of the Pāla kingdom under Nārāyaṇapāla, if we could push forward the dates of the incident by two decades, which is not very much unreasonable in view of the proved inaccuracies in the chronology of the Tibetan chronicles. Lastly, the usurpation of a part of the Pāla kingdom by a Kāmboja chief in the tenth century A.D. may be ultimately traceable to the Tibetan expeditions, for Kāmboja was an Indian name for Tibet. But all these are mere conjectures and speculations for the present, and undue stress should not be laid on them till corroborative evidence is forthcoming.

## Varuṇa

BY DR. BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Recently I have discussed the etymology of the name of the god Indra as suggested by Professors Kretschmer and Benveniste and also given a new etymology of the name of the god Mitra.<sup>1</sup> In the present note I wish to discuss the name of the god Varuṇa from the view-point explained in detail in that article.

The name of this god is one of the oldest words of Indo-European stock, for, as is well known, Skt. *vāruṇa* has been always connected with Gr. *ouranós*. But, as will be clear to even a casual observer, these two forms cannot be equated straightway, and even Joh. Schmidt<sup>2</sup> expressed doubt as to the basic unity of these two forms. It is necessary, therefore, to consider if Schmidt's scepticism was justified.

When comparing two forms we generally expect that every syllable of each form should appear in the same ablaut-grade in each of them. But, excepting in a very few etymologies, we never find such ideal agreement. Insistence on such ideal agreement would lead to the rejection of well-established etymological equations like Skt. *uśás*: Lat. *aurora*, for here Skt. *uṣ-* is in clear disagreement with Lat. *aur-*. And yet nobody dreams of doubting this etymology, and that rightly, for here the Sanskrit root is but the reduced-grade form of the Latin root. In comparing word-forms for the purpose of etymological equation we should therefore be prepared to accept as equivalent the corresponding syllables in the forms concerned even though the syllables may not appear in the same ablaut-grade in each of the forms. This is absolutely necessary, for the original Indo-European accent has nowhere been retained unchanged; it has been

1 *Indian Culture*, vol. VII, pp. 57-64.

2 See Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, second ed., vol. II, p. 3, f.-n. 1.

changed mildly in Sanskrit, but more or less violently in every other dialect.

This disagreement in ablaut-grade is in evidence not only in the root-syllable (as in the case of *uśás*: *aurora*) but quite often also in the suffixes. Failure to always keep in view this possibility of suffix-ablaut has led to blunders in very high quarters. Saussure,<sup>3</sup> for instance, wanted to derive the *u* of *váruṇa* from I.-E. *ə*, and Pischel<sup>4</sup> felt himself constrained to accept the wholly unjustified mutation of *an* to *un* in his attempt to explain *táruṇa*, *dharuṇa* etc. besides *váruṇa*. But it is quite clear that in all these forms the element *-una* is the suffix, and that this *-una* is nothing but the thematised form of the weak-grade form *-un* of the suffix *-van*.<sup>5</sup> Wackernagel<sup>6</sup> is inclined to derive *dāruṇá* from I.-E. *\*dorun-* (<*\*doruaʰn-*). Even within Sanskrit, we can see the play of this suffix-ablaut in *śák-van*: *śak-un-á*, *ádḥ-van*: *adh-un-á*, and within Indo-Iranian in Av. *miθ-wan*: Skt. *mith-un-á*. This is enough to show that the suffix-ablaut *van*: *un* was active in every stage from the original Indo-European to Sanskrit. There will be nothing implausible, therefore, if we divide the word as *vár-uṇa* and take *-una-* to be the thematised weak-grade form of the suffix *-van*.

This is supported first of all by the much discussed Hittite form *u-ru-van-a*. What sound exactly the Hittites wanted to express by means of the Akkadian syllabic signs *u-ru* will perhaps never be finally decided. But the suffix-element *-van-* is quite clear in the Hittite form, and also in the Greek form *ouranós* <*\*ovorvanos* <*\*vorvanos*. Usually the form *\*ovorvanos* is held to be the older one.<sup>7</sup> Yet Brugmann has stated in the clearest possible terms that the initial *o* in *\*ovorvanos* is a prothetic vowel of later origin.<sup>8</sup> Also the

3 *Mémoire*, p. 181.

4 *GGA.*, 1879, p. 574.

5 See my *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit*, pp. 98-99.

6 *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. III, § 67 b.

7 See, e.g., Boisacq, *sub voce*.

8 See Brugmann-Thumb, *Griech. Grammatik*, third ed., p. 173.



change of *-rv-* to *r* is quite common in Greek, e.g. Attic *kórē* < \**korvē*.<sup>9</sup> It is true that the dialectical forms *ōranos* (Lesbian) and *ōranós* (Doric) cannot be satisfactorily reconciled with *ouranós*, but that is no reason why we should hesitate to connect *ouranós* (< \**vorvanos*) with *vāruṇa*. It can be safely assumed therefore that I.-E. \**vor-van-os* has developed on the one hand into Gr. *ouranós* with the help of the prothetic vowel *o-*, and on the other into Skt. *vāruṇa* as the result of the weakening of the suffix *-van-* to *-un-*.

The Indo-European antiquity of the name *Vāruṇa* being thus proved beyond doubt, we shall now try to understand the character and career of the god who owned this name. The most salient features of this god's career are the following: among the Greeks he was a sky-god of minor importance, the Mitanni—who invoked his name in connection with a peace-treaty—apparently regarded him as a god of truth and fidelity, in the Avesta the name *Varuṇa* does not occur at all but the god figures prominently under the epithet *Ahura Mazdāh*, and in the *R̥gveda* he is the highest moral god sharing with the other great gods the epithet *Asura*. Moreover in India this old *Uranus* had become *Neptune* to boot, for already in the *R̥gveda* he is closely associated with the waters. Any theory about *Varuṇa*, to be regarded as satisfactory, must be able to do adequate justice to all these seemingly irreconcilable but fully established facts.

It is clear that, among the ancient Indo-Iranians at least, *Varuṇa* had once attained a very high position, and that even though he possessed none of those qualities which readily appeal to a vigorous primitive people. Gods like *Indra*, wielding thunder, would naturally be most popular with such a people. But a sky-god, whose activities are all passive, could not have impressed them much. The conception of a passively benevolent deity could have arisen among the Indo-Europeans only when they had made

<sup>9</sup> For other examples, see *Op. cit.*, § 24. 2.

sufficient progress in civilisation to be able to appreciate the virtues of peaceful life. But we know that the primitive Indo-Europeans were by no means a peace-loving people. They destroyed a great deal before they began to build. Yet the great vault of the sky might have impressed even a primitive people to some extent by means of its sheer physical grandeur, though it was beyond the scope of a primitive mind to abstract out of this natural phenomenon a supreme god distinguished by purely ethical qualities. The conception of the Greek god Ouranos might have arisen at some such time. Though later than the Hittite Uruvana in date, the Greek Ouranos would thus seem to represent an older stage in the career of Varuṇa.

The Greek Ouranos had been promoted to the position of Uruvana by the Mitanni already before 1400 B. C. It would seem that by this time, at least the forefathers of the Indo-Aryans among the primitive Indo-European tribes, had acquired the rudiments of civilisation and culture from the Mesopotamian world where they had been roaming for over four centuries.<sup>10</sup> Varuṇa was now being invoked along with Indra—which would show that the ethical god of humble origin had risen enormously in status in the meantime. It was perhaps at this time that the aquatic element entered into the being of Varuṇa. As Brandenstein<sup>11</sup> says, "the peculiar syncretism exhibited by Varuṇa can be best explained on the hypothesis that the Hittite *arunas* 'ocean' was the cause of Varuṇa's becoming an ocean-god, though originally he had more to do with the night and the night-sky." To me it seems that Brandenstein's theory is much better than Kretschmer's who considers Hit. *aruna* and *uruvana* to be one and the same word signifying "ocean." Starting from the assumption that Varuṇa, the ocean-god, was borrowed by the Aryans from some Asianic people, Kretschmer suggested that the difference between the Hittite

10 See my *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit*, pp. 50-51.

11 *Hirt-Festschrift*, vol. II, p. 38.

forms *aruna* and *uruvana* is due to the borrowed word being mispronounced and imperfectly reproduced by the Hittites.<sup>12</sup>

Varuṇa's career during the Indo-Iranian period has to be reconstructed on the basis of comparison between the Veda and the Avesta. But, as is well known, Varuṇa appears in the Avesta under the designation Ahura Mazdāh, and moreover, from a position of probable equality with Indra in the previous age, Varuṇa under this new designation had been promoted to absolute supremacy over all the gods by the prophet of Iran. Darmsteter<sup>13</sup> has aptly said that Ahura Mazdāh is no more different from Vedic Varuṇa, also called Asura, than Zeus is from Jupiter. But this is merely a statement of fact and no explanation of it. The explanation is to be found, I believe, in the epithet *Asura* shared both by the Iranian Ahura Mazdāh and the Indian Varuṇa. As I have tried to show before,<sup>14</sup> this epithet was probably borrowed by the forefathers of the Indo-Iranians from the Assyrians and applied as a generic term to all their chief gods. The forefathers of the Indo-Iranians saw the light of civilisation for the first time when they came in contact with the Mesopotamian peoples, and it is natural that under such circumstances the only god of their pantheon who could claim to be a civilised person should be boosted up. I think this is how it came to pass that the Maryanni, the proto-Indo-Iranian ruling class among the Mitanni, promoted Varuṇa, who previously held an unimportant position, to the status of equality with Indra, and also decorated him with the title 'Asura' borrowed from Assyrian pantheon. Varuṇa became Asura Varuṇa perhaps already among the Mitanni.

We have now to answer only one question more: why was Varuṇa's name suppressed and personality boosted by Zarathuṣtra? This question too I have tried to answer

12 Kretschmer, *Varuṇa und die Urgeschichte der Inder*, WZKM., 1926, pp. 1-22.

13 *SBE.*, vol. IV, p. lii. Benveniste however does not seem to be so sure on this point; see *Vrtra et Vrthragna*, p. 46, f.-n. 1.

14 *Indian Culture*, vol. VII, p. 61.

before<sup>15</sup>. Zarathuštra was an uncompromising reformer, and he wanted a complete break with the past tainted with Daivic associations. His fearless courage is proved by the fact that even Indra, the chief god of the Indo-Iranians, was relegated to the netherworld by him. It is quite possible that in his eyes the name, though not the personality, of Varuṇa had been defiled through association with Indra and other Daiva-gods among the Mitanni. May be, it was for this reason that Zarathuštra altogether suppressed the name of Varuṇa.<sup>16</sup> But this stern reformer had the highest regard for the benevolent and virtuous character of the god. So he taught his followers to worship Varuṇa under this new title.

Also among the Daiva-worshippers, so intensely hated by Zarathuštra, Varuṇa, decorated with the Assyrian title, continued to be worshipped, but this less civilised and more virile people adored Indra far more. When at last in India the Aryan nomads cried halt and set about developing their distinctive civilization, Varuṇa had already become an imposing shadow devoid of tangible substance. But the aquatic element, acquired so early in Asia Minor and flowing for centuries through unobserved subterranean channels, invigorated the dying god in a surprising manner and gave him a new lease of life.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 339.

16 If the locution *Assara Mazūs* occurring in an Assyrian inscription of the seventh century B.C. (see Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 616) really refers to Ahura Mazdah, then it will have to be assumed perhaps that this re-naming of the old diety had taken place already before the advent of the prophet of Iran. An anti-Daeva movement was in any case surely raging in Iran before Zarathustra.

## Glimpses into The Hindu-Javanese Society of Central Java

*(From the middle of the seventh to the early  
part of the tenth century A.D.)*

By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar.

### *The Sources*

Inscriptions, works of art and references in the Chinese annals constitute our chief sources for reconstructing the social history of Central Java between the middle of the seventh and the second quarter of the tenth century A. D. when it was the leading political factor in the history of the island. But great caution is needed before we can make use of these materials. In the introductory portion of Prof. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*<sup>2</sup> he has surveyed with a masterly hand the difficulties attending a correct understanding of these records. The transference of copperplates from one place to another, the great uncertainty regarding the true import of Hindu-Javanese official titles, the obscurity of the Old-Javanese language, the demarcation of the exact boundary between real and fantastic reliefs depicting contemporary social life, are some of the outstanding difficulties besetting the path of the historian. Although great strides have been taken in recent years towards solving some of these problems, we must say that we have not yet reached finality regarding most of them. It is well to bear this in mind while studying the pre-Islamic Institutions of Java. In view of these difficulties we have to proceed on the basis of the greatest common unanimity among scholars. Starting from this standpoint we can draw an outline picture of social life in Central Java for several centuries.

### *The Cultural Background*

The inscriptions and monuments of Central Java may be considered as the expression of a virile social life, and their



sites would mark the zone where the life and culture of its people developed and flourished. If we draw a line from Pěkalongan in the north to Baratěngah in the south and from Sěmarang in the north to Wanagiri in the south, that would roughly represent the area where the people were most active in building up their complex Hindu-Javanese culture. Within this area, there are some hills and rivers, in whose vicinity are found most of the inscriptions and monuments of Central Java. We may recall in this connexion the names of Dieng, Pěrot, Kali běběr, Pěsindon, Gandasuli, Banjarněgara, Ngaběan, Baratěngah, Kěmbang Arum, Canggal, Tuk mas, Tumbu, Pakis, Barabudur, Salatiga, Argapura, etc. The rivers were the easiest channels of communication with the interior, and the earliest wave of Hindu colonisation, both in Borneo and in Java proceeded along their courses. Even the earliest records of Central Java, those of Tuk mas<sup>1</sup> and Canggal,<sup>2</sup> lie not far from Kali Ela, and if we proceed a little to the west, along the Kali Praga, this brings us to the vicinity of Diěng, the Old-Javanese Dihyang, where the earliest dated Old-Javanese inscription of Central Java has been discovered.<sup>3</sup> It is not however possible to determine whether this influx of Hindu culture into Java proceeded from the northern or the southern shore of the island. What is, however, observable in the Sanskrit charters is that their dates become gradually later as we proceed from north to south.

The early inscriptions of Central Java, those of Tuk mas (about 650 A. D.) and Canggal (732 A.D.), bear resemblance to the Pallava script and are written in Sanskrit verse. It is therefore reasonable to hold that the colonists of this region at the beginning of its recorded history, came from the Coromandel coast of Southern India or from the Hinduized tracts of Western Java where the Pallava script was in vogue several centuries back. Probably there were also some colonists from the Kalinga region of India, as the

1 Kern, *VG*, VII (1917), pp. 199-204.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 115-128.

3 *OJO*. II.

name Ho-ling, which is deemed to be a Chinese transcription of Kalinga and applicable to Central Java,<sup>4</sup> seems to testify. The use of Sanskrit language and metre and the elaborate representation of the Hindu religious tradition indicate that there was no dearth of Sanskrit scholars in Central Java from c. 650 A. D. onwards. The Chinese reference to a Javanese scholar from Ho-ling, Jñānabhadra,<sup>5</sup> whom the Chinese call Joh-na-poh-t'o-lo points to the same conclusion. It is stated of the Chinese pilgrim Hwui-ning that he visited Kaling in 664-5 A.D. and remained there for three years, translating in collaboration with Jñānabhadra the extracts about the Nirvāṇa of Buddha from the Āgama-texts that belonged to the first class of Hinayāna-sūtras. After the translation of Hwui-ning was completed, he despatched it to China through Yun-k'i, a youthful Chinese clergyman, who had received ordination under Jñānabhadra. It has been related of such Chinese scholars that they knew not only Sanskrit, but also the native tongue. It appears therefore that the native language, which the Chinese called K'ouen-louen, played a certain rôle in the literary studies. We have said above that all the inscriptions of Central Java upto 782 A.D. (the charters are dated respectively in c. 650, 732, 778, 782

4 Prof. Krom, *Geschiedenis*<sup>2</sup> p. 104, says that the term Ho-ling should signify no more than that the Chinese had found there a "Hindu"-land, because the term 'Kaling' is used in a much broader sense than what is derived from Kalinga. Cf. the modern parlance in the Archipelago where every Indian, irrespective of the place of his origin, called a Kling. It is possible, continues the same scholar, that the Chinese, after meeting elsewhere the Kalinga-people as the representatives of the Hindu-element, also spoke of "Kaling" in connexion with a similar culture in Java, without meaning that the Indians had actually come from Kalinga. Without denying the force of Prof. Krom's argument, it may be pointed out that it is not for the first time that the Chinese found a "Hindu-land" in Java, nor is there any proof that the term "Kaling" for all Indians" was current in the period under review. If we admit that the culture of Central Java was similar to that of the Kalinga-people elsewhere, we indirectly admit the possibility of Kalinga-element and culture in the Hindu-Javanese society of Central Java.

5 I-tsing, *Mémoire*, pp. 60 ff.

A.D.<sup>6</sup>) are written in Sanskrit, which was indifferently used for Hindu and Buddhist charters. We have also seen on Chinese evidence that the monk Jñānabhadra was well versed in Sanskrit. From these facts it follows that Sanskrit had found its way into the highest circles of society by the seventh and eighth centuries. Two phases are noticeable in the introduction of this Sanskrit culture into Central Java. The first phase is represented by the script of the Tuk mas and the Canggal inscriptions which are usually described as written in the Pallava script. We may then imagine that there were Southern Indians in these places in c. 650 and 732 A.D. The second phase is represented by the "Pre-Nāgari" script which is associated with the efflorescence of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the rise of the Buddhist Śailendra emperors of Central Java, and represented in the charters of Kalasan<sup>7</sup> (778 A.D.), Kōlurak<sup>8</sup> (782 A.D.), Ratu Baka,<sup>9</sup> Plaosan<sup>10</sup> and Sajiwan.<sup>11</sup> These "Pre-Nāgari" inscriptions sustain the traditions of the previous period, and prove the infusion of new blood from Northern India into the Hindu-Javanese society of Central Java. Prof. Krom holds<sup>12</sup> that those who introduced these Indian influences into Central Java were culture-bearers *par excellence*, and not political potentates, for the political organisation of Central Java was much too "native" for this last development. We may recall in this connexion that the preceptor of a Śailendra king came to Java in 782 A.D. from Bengal and he purified the head of the Śailendra monarch with the dust of his lotus-feet.<sup>13</sup> There must have been other missionaries who emulated the example of the Bengal preceptor, and moreover, the journey from India to Java must have been more convenient and frequent at this period than in the days of Fa-hian. These circumstances gave a great impetus

6 Inscriptions of Tuk mas, Canggal, Kalasan and Kēlurak.

7 The latest edition by Bosch in *TBG*, 68 (1928), pp. 57-62.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-56.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

10 *OV*. 1915, pp. 89-91.

11 *VBG*. 7 (1814), pp. 22-24.

12 *Geschiedenis*<sup>2</sup> pp. 100-1.

13 The Inscription of Kēlurak.

to the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Central Java, which pushed Hinayāna Buddhism into the background. But whether this expansion of Indian culture was due to those culture-bearers *par excellence* or to the traders or to both, the fact remains that Sanskrit is used in all early records of Central Java, and the earliest literary work of that region the *Candaḥaraṇa*,<sup>14</sup> is an attempt to familiarise the Javanese population with Sanskrit. There were also other books of the same class, the *svaravyaṇjan* for example, which Juynboll describes in *BKI* 6:8 (1901) pp. 630-33 and which also attempt to teach Sanskrit. To the Indians coming from various parts of the Indian continent Sanskrit was perhaps something like a *lingua franca* from the very beginning of Indians' contact with Central Java, but Sanskrit could make an appeal only to the intellectual class of the Javanese and it could not be understood by the common people. This might have led to the development of the Old-Javanese language, which was probably a mixture of Old-Malay and Sanskrit with a couple of centuries of uninterrupted and independent development on the Javanese soil. I say a mixture of Old-Malay and Sanskrit, because when the Chinese pilgrims speak of K'ouen-louen as the native language of Java and Sumatra, Old-Malay was used in the inscriptions of Sumatra. This shows that Old-Malay is equivalent to K'ouen-louen. But Old-Malay is somewhat different from Old-Javanese, consequently we have to postulate an independent development of Old-Malay in Java under the circumstances mentioned above. The oldest of the Old-Javanese records is dated in 809 A.D. The specimens of the oldest literary Old-Javanese records are preserved in the above-mentioned *Candaḥaraṇa*, whose date is not certain, but Prof. Krom places it between 750 and 850 A.D.

Let us imagine that the formative period of Old-Javanese falls between c.'650 (date of the Tuk mas inscription and of the Chinese report about K'ouen-louen) and 809

14 *Med. Kon. Akad. v. Wet.* 58 (1924), pp. 203-206.



A.D. (date of the Old-Javanese stone inscription at Diēng). This was perhaps a period of mutual understanding and penetrative social intercourse through the medium of corrupt Sanskrit and K'ouen-louen. This reminds us of the remark of Dr. Brandes, who mentions three stages in the appropriation of Sanskrit into Old-Javanese: first, when Sanskrit was learnt by hearing alone, then when it was learnt by study, and lastly, when it was known by ever debilitating memory alone. In the first period, Sanskrit words followed the peculiarity of the Javanese language, in the second period they were correctly given, in the third period Javanese pronunciation again triumphed. According to Prof. Krom, the *Amaramālā* (*Candakaraṇa*), which is placed by him between 750 and 850 A.D., belongs to the second stage. The first stage is therefore to be pushed back before c. 750 A.D., since when no non-Sanskritic records have reached our hands.

The influence of Indian culture on the upper strata of society was undoubtedly great, but how far did it penetrate among the masses? If we consult the inscriptions of Central Java, both Sanskrit and Javanese, it would appear that important personages sometimes bear Sanskrit names, but even then, it is not possible to determine whether they were Hindus or Hinduized Javans. While discussing the name of Pūrṇavarman in the West-Javanese inscriptions, Prof. Vogel<sup>15</sup> has admirably summed up his views on this point, and his remark, quoted below, is equally applicable to the present instance: "It would, perhaps, be equally risky to conclude from Pūrṇavarman's name, that he was of Indian birth or extraction. He may, no doubt, have been an immigrant from some part of the Indian continent, or a descendant of such an immigrant, but equally well he may have been an indigenous prince of Malay race who had adopted Hindu culture and religion and along with it had assumed an Indo-Aryan name. A Sanskritic name in itself would prove

<sup>15</sup> While editing the West-Jav. inscriptions in *Publ. Oudh. Dienst* I (1925), pp. 15-35.



as little with regard to the nationality of the bearer as a name in Arabic, Hebrew, Greek or Latin. That Pūrṇavarman, if not a Hindu, was at any rate Hinduized, may be taken for granted." The names of the common folk in the inscriptions are, on the other hand, mainly Javanese, but we should not fail to mention that some Paurāṇic and Epic names also occur in Old-Javanese inscriptions. They first occur in the inscription of Kuburan Caṇḍi,<sup>16</sup> dated 753 S.E. where we come across the names of Narada (Nā°), Paṇḍava, (Pā°), Baruṇa, Nandi (°di) and Ravan (Rāvana). The names of women are also given in the charters of Central Java with the further designation that they are the wives or mothers of such and such persons. We should however bear in mind that the significance of the 'name' was, and still is, very peculiar in Java. The meanings of 'name,' 'title' and 'social status' are synonymous in Javanese; for example, the Javanese word *jñnĕg* may mean anyone of these; it often happens that a Javanese changes his "name" on several occasions in a life-time, e.g., on marriage, fatherhood, change of occupations or promotion, etc. We may recall in this connexion the classical example of King Balitung (898-910 A.D.) who changed his name in 907 A.D. into Dharmmodaya Mahāsambhu on the occasion of his marriage.<sup>17</sup>

A general study of the inscriptions leaves, however, the impression that the social organisation was very little affected by Indian factors. But it may perhaps be admitted that many Indians, who had come over to Java for trading or other purposes, remained in the land and married Javanese maidens. This intermarriage accelerated the pace of Indianization of Central Java and had the same result as Islamic intermarriages in the last days of Hindu supremacy in Java in the beginning of the sixteenth century, with this difference, that the Hindu intermarrying families did not probably exercise sovereign powers which the Islamic

<sup>16</sup> *TBG.* 70 (1930), pp. 157-170.

<sup>17</sup> The Kĕdu charter of 829 S.E. (*TBG.* 67, pp. 172-205).

princes of the harbour-regions evidently did. This fusion of blood and culture led to the development of a composite society, which was neither Hindu nor Javanese, but Hindu-Javanese, a society containing elements from both the races. While this impact did not much affect the social and political organisation of Central Java, it revolutionized the religious ideals of the Javanese people to an unprecedented extent. Worships of forefathers and spirits continued, but the highest homage was paid to the gods of Hinduism and Buddhism, clear traces of which are found in the inscriptions of Java. There are not only invocations to Hindu and Buddhistic deities, but there are also temples and images to glorify the blessings conferred by these imported gods. We may recall in this connexion the august caitya of Barabudur and the temple-complex of Lero Jonggrang, which respectively bear eloquent tributes to Buddha and Śiva, the two highest gods of the Indian religious systems.

Against this cultural background, we may best try to understand the social life of the Hindu-Javanese population of Central Java. The people of villages were divided into various classes, such as *anak wanua*, *tuha wanua*, *rāma*, *samakaki*, etc., which terms we frequently come across in the inscriptions. At the village of Kalasan, there were Bhikṣu-s in 778 A.D. We also read in the copper-plates of Panaraga<sup>18</sup> that noblemen and slaves, house-dwellers and Bhikṣus, and even the four *varṇas* participated in the foundation of a freehold in 901 A.D. The four *varṇas* are mentioned for the first time in the inscription of Kēboan Pasar,<sup>19</sup> dated 873 A.D., but the authenticity of the charter is not beyond doubt, and moreover the charter is probably of East-Javanese origin. The four *varṇas* are again mentioned in a record of the time of King Dakṣa, who ruled in 915 A.D.<sup>20</sup> In the reliefs of Barabudur we find representations of the royal court where the king confers with his Brahmin ministers, the first of the four *varṇas*. It is doubt-

ful if there were pure Brahmins of Indian extraction, nor is there any reason to suppose the three other *varṇas* as living in Central Java in strict aloofness from the Hindu-Javanese society. What is probable is that the Hindu-Javanese society of Central Java was artificially modelled upon the ancient society of Hindu India, but the similarity did not go beyond this class division. Besides these four *varṇas*, we have references to particular class divisions. In the stone inscriptions of Pereng,<sup>21</sup> dated 863 A.D. there is a passage referring to the *Kalangs* of the Hindu-Javanese society of Central Java. They have been supposed to be the descendants of war-prisoners, or the Ur-population or the lower folk with un-Javanese elements. The term *hulan haji*, a class of slaves, first occurs in the stone inscription of Diēng,<sup>22</sup> dated 809 A.D. Of classes of women we do not hear much. It is only in the New History of the T'ang dynasty<sup>23</sup> that we hear of a class of women—if we may use the term 'class'—called *viṣaḥanyā*. The passage runs as follows: In this country (Kaling) there are poisonous girls, When one has intercourse with them, he gets painful ulcers and dies, but his body does not decay." Whether we believe in the story or not, such 'poisonous girls' are also known to us from Indian literature.<sup>24</sup> Besides these class divisions there are also others known to the inscriptions of Central Java, but their import is either unknown or uncertain. The list of such terms will run into several dozens. It appears therefore that there were various classes of people and that there was gradation in the ranks of the villagers. The latter point is clearly illustrated in the inscription of Wanagiri<sup>25</sup>, dated 903 A.D., where reference is made to people of the lowest, mediocre and highest positions.

21 *Poerbatjaraka, Agastya*, pp. 45 ff.

22 *OJO* II.

23 This dynasty ended in 906 A.D. The statement given above may refer to the last half of the 9th century.

24 Cf. Penzer in Tawney's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (translation) II (1924), pp. 311 ff.

25 *TBG*. 74 (1934), pp. 269-295.

*The Position of Women*

The position of women in the Central Javanese society was fairly high. The Chinese annals state<sup>26</sup> that in 674-5 A.D. the people of Ho-ling took as their ruler a woman of the name of Si-mo. Her rule was most excellent. In her time even things dropped on the way were not stolen. Although there are some untrustworthy elements in the story, the reference to a particular year invests the story with a halo of reality, and what is more important, the story refers to the choice or selection of the ruler by the people. A mutilated passage in the Canggal inscription, dated 732 A.D., has been deemed by some scholars<sup>27</sup> to refer to a joint sovereignty of a king and his sister.

In the inscriptions of Central Java prior to 929 A.D., we do not hear of any other ruling queen or princesses. But there are notices of other notable women who occupied high positions in society. The stone inscription of Karang-tengah,<sup>28</sup> dated 769 .S.E. (Brandes) or 719 S.E. (Juynboll and Goris), seems to refer to a land-grant by a certain Palar and his wife. This may indicate that the wife had some control over the property disposed of. An East-Javanese inscription<sup>29</sup> leaves no doubt about the matter, but some Central Javanese charters also furnish substantial evidence on this point. The copperplates of Panaraga, "dated 823 S.E. refer, for example, to the names of some women who were the owners of lands at Taji and who gladly gave them away for the temple of Devasabhā. In the inscriptions officers receive gifts of various kinds, but it is not until 884 A.D.<sup>30</sup> that we hear of gifts being awarded to women,

26 *Notes*, p. 14 and Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires*, p. 297.

27 Vide Krom, *Geschiedenis*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 123 ff.

But the interpretation of the passage by Prof. Vogel seems to me to be nearer the mark: "He the son of the sister of (the person) named Sannāha.....is (now) ruling the kingdom with justice." If king Sañjaya ruled *with* his sister, the poet was bound to use the third case-ending for *svast*. Secondly, the very next verse opens with '*yasminchā-sa(ti)*', which can only signify that the king ruled alone.

28 *OJO*. IV.

29 *OJO*. XXXII.

30 *OJO*. XVII.

but even then the instance is not beyond doubt, because there is a mutilated passage round about. The first positive reference is found in 901 A.D.<sup>31</sup> when Lady Dhetā, the wives of the *patih*-s and the *nayakas* receive gifts of various kinds. This distribution of gifts to women becomes almost a regular feature of central Javanese inscriptions from this date onwards. Women were also entrusted with other functions. For example, Lady Dhetā and her children are alone placed in charge of the temple of Devasabhā and its freehold, so that they may protect the sacred religious foundation. What is noteworthy is that Lady Dhetā was probably the *raja* of Śrī bharu, ('Lord of Śrī bharu,') the latter possibly being a place-name. If my interpretation of the relevant passage is correct, it would furnish an additional proof of the rights of women over manors.

Early marriage was not unknown in Central Java. A proof is furnished by the inscription of Kembang Arum, 902 A.D.,<sup>32</sup> where among the donees we come across the names of older matrons, mothers of young children and wives of youngsters. In some cases men were polygamous, and a presumptive evidence is furnished by the inscription of 908 A.D., published by Dr. Van Naerssen in *Aanw. Kol. Inst.*, 1934, where Ladies Sucintō, Kina, Waita and Sawitā appear to be the wives of *samgat* Kalangwungkal (Pl. II, re° 11-12), but a more conclusive evidence is furnished by the inscription of Pēsindon<sup>33</sup>, dated 904 A.D., which states that "the spiritual teacher Siwita purified his body (and) went away with all (his) wives and two daughters." This very passage also indicates that women went to pilgrimages along with their husbands. But, far the most important record throwing light on the status of women is the so-called *jayapattra-Dieduḥsman*<sup>34</sup> which resembles charters of Central Java though its findspot is not known. According to Brandes, its date is 849 Ś.E., but

31 *OJO*. XXIII.

33 *TBG*. 25, pp. 464-65.

32 *JGIS*. 1938, No. 1.

34 *TBG*. 32 (1889), pp. 98-149.



Goris<sup>35</sup> and Stutterheim<sup>36</sup> read the date as 829. It records that a certain Tabwŏl was sued by *samĕgat* Pinapan, viz., Gawul and his wife Gallam for the repayment of money borrowed from *sang* Dharmma by Campa, the wife of Tabwŏl. As Campa died childless and the complainant did not arrive at court, the case was dismissed. It is also noteworthy that among the witnesses there was Guru woju, the wife of a former (?) *samĕgat* Pinapan. The inscription proves that there were women-judges, that women could borrow on their own account and that a women could also be a witness which last privilege is usually denied to women in Hindu Law. Women also participated in religious festivities celebrated on the occasion of founding free-holds, when there were feasts, music, dancing, jesting, recitals, boar-fights and cock-fights. We shall have occasion to describe this fully later on.

*(To be continued.)*

35 *OV.* (1928), p. 64.

36 *TBG.* 75, p. 421 n. 1 and 437 n. 4.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**The Stone Implements of Bandarwela (Ceylon)**—By N. A. Noone and H. V. Noone. (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. III, Part I, Section G, Anthropology, Nov. 15, 1940).

The authors collected about 2000 stone implements from Bandarwela, the famous site where the Sarasins and Hartly found, at the beginning of the present century, interesting records of prehistoric man's activities. The specimens were mostly gathered from the surface of the knolls and from the slopes of the ridges. Some were, of course, "extracted from depths of up to 24 inches." These knolls were most probably working sites. The implements are mostly made of quartz and rock crystal; a few are made of chert.

The authors classify the artefacts into five major groups namely (a) Polyhedrals, (b) Bifaces (c) Flake and blade implements (d) Geometrical pieces (e) Special pieces. Each of these groups is again divided into minor divisions and subdivisions. In classifying these objects the authors have followed the new nomenclature and have also suggested some new names. They also claim to have discovered some new types of implements such as the burinate tools, nosed-scrapers, semi-discoidals, etc. In the absence of geological and palaeontological evidences the authors have rightly desisted from suggesting any probable age for these implements. Though the implements are of varied shapes and sizes the authors think them to belong to one culture. "According to the Seligmans' (1911) investigations this culture is at least two thousand years old, but so far as we know, it cannot yet be said, when it came into existence or when it came to an end." Even in 1911 Seligman found the Veddahs using stone and shell implements, and if we go towards the east, we find stone age, even at present, in Australia and parts of Melanesia.

The information given in the article is interesting and useful. But it is curious that the authors have not taken

into consideration the important paper by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala on "The Stone Age and Cave Men of Ceylon" published in September, 1940, in the *J. R. A. S.*, Ceylon Branch, where the author has tried to settle the chronological sequence of prehistoric finds of Ceylon with the help of geological and palaeontological evidences.

T. C. Das

**Dvīpamaya Bhārata** (Insulindia)—By Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor, Calcutta University, 369 pp. with numerous illustrations. The Book Company Limited, Calcutta 1940. Rs. 4.

It was nearly a decade and a half ago that a happy conjuncture of circumstances enabled our great national poet Rabindra Nath Tagore to undertake his long-projected and long-deferred tour in the islands of Java and Bali still redolent of the memories of the Indian cultural influences. The mission which lasted almost exactly three months (July to September 1927) was in every sense a marked success. Not only did all sections and communities of the people, including the highest representatives of Government, honour themselves by according an enthusiastic welcome to India's illustrious son, but India herself through her great cultural ambassador was able to renew, however fitfully, her long-lost connection with those lands on which she has left the indelible stamp of her genius in their imperishable works of art as well as in the daily lives of their people.

The present work is a dairy of this memorable tour written by one who accompanied the poet throughout his journey. Contributed originally in a series of articles to the Bengali periodical *Prabasi*, (Bhādra, 1334 to Āswīn 1338 B.S.), it has been brought together in a book-form by an enterprising publishing firm of Calcutta, Messrs. The Book Company Limited. It is enriched with a large number of illustrations from photographs taken on the spot by the author's companions. Of the merits of this book it is

impossible to speak in terms of too high praise. It may be said without exaggeration to be a unique work in Bengali literature. Not only does it describe lands and peoples till then almost unknown to Bengali-speaking readers, but it deals with history, topography, art, literature and, last but not the least, the colourful life of the people. The author has the artist's knack of painting with a few strokes brilliant word-pictures of the landscape, the dwelling-houses, the religious observances, the manners and customs which he has witnessed, nay even the idiosyncracies of the individuals whom he has met. The extraordinary range of his interest in men and things, his keen powers of observation and narration, his simple fascinating style, his sage reflections interspersed with humorous anecdotes, make his work a model of what a book of travel should be like. His fine artistic sensibility is reflected in his appreciation of the songs, dances, plays, paintings and sculptures and other works of art which it was his good fortune to witness. His patriotism and keen religious sense are equally reflected in his observations on the great temple architecture and divine images of Java. His occasional digressions, such as his account of the waves of Hindu colonial and cultural expansion in Indonesia, are models of concise, accurate narratives.

The work which is aptly dedicated to the celebrated artist Nandalal Bose of Santiniketan, consists of two parts, Part I describing the visit to the Malay peninsula on the route to Java and Part II dealing with the journey in Sumatra, Bali and Java.

In a work of such varied contents it is not possible to single out any topics for special mention. But we may notice some points of peculiar interest. To us in India the author's account of the social and economic conditions of our countrymen settled in those lands of South-East Asia naturally makes a deep appeal. On the whole the author gives us a pleasing picture not only of their enterprise but also of their simplicity, hospitality and deeply religious nature. The author has a good word to say about the great work done by the Dutch administrators in conserv-



ing and restoring the ancient monuments, in preserving and promoting the ancient learning and in diffusing popular knowledge by means of such institutions as the Kirtya Lieftrinck van der Tuuk. Very enjoyable and instructive are the author's accounts, derived from personal experience, of those finest flowers of Indo-Javanese culture, the dance and the shadow-play. Very striking are his descriptions of his visit to the famous monuments of Prambanam, Borobudur, Chandi Mendut, and so forth. Of the magic island of Bali the author gives us many wonderful pictures, such as those relating to the Sradh ceremony, the ritual gestures, the funeral rites and so forth. Not less striking are his frequent sketches of the life and character of the Balinese people from prince to peasant. Of the extraordinary value of these descriptions there can be no manner of doubt for according to all competent observers Bali is fast plunging into the vortex of modern civilization and losing her pristine charm and simplicity. As an American tourist told the poet in course of a conversation. "The Serpent is fast galloping into this Eden."

The author's concluding words are well worth repeating. We make no apology for reproducing them even in an imperfect translation. "Like a bright-hued dream our visit to Insul-India came to and end. But the influence of this dream upon my intellectual and spiritual life will remain evermore. For as the result of this visit I have been able to some extent to appreciate the greatness of my people, to acquaint myself somewhat with the genius of Ancient India and by the awakening of my spiritual sense through the appreciation of beauty to know myself better than before."

In a work of such outstanding merit it would be invidious to point out a few slips. If, however, a second edition of this work is called for, it would be necessary for the author to modify his identification of Śrīvijaya with Palembang (pp. 137, 148), his location of Suvarṇadvīpa and the Śailendras in Sumatra (pp. 137, 148, 178), his equation of Champa with Annam and Cochin-China (p. 137), his



reference to Bālaputradeva as endowing villages for foundation of a Nalanda monastery (p. 177), his description of the Śailendras as being subject to Java and afterwards destroyed by the Malays (p. 180).

It is to be earnestly hoped that this fine work may be translated into English and some of the major Indian vernaculars, so that it can reach a wider circle of readers,

U. N. Ghoshal

**The Trisvabhāvanirdeśa of Vasubandhu—Sanskrit Text and Tibetan Versions.** Edited with an English Translation, Introduction and Vocabularies. By Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya, Visvabharati.

This work of Vasubandhu consists of thirty-eight memorial verses. As the editor has confessed, these cryptic verses in the absence of a commentary are not intelligible in all their implications. The Tibetan versions on account of their extreme faithfulness and literalism do not render any appreciable service in the matter of interpretation of the philosophy. The translation into English, too, though carefully correct, is, taken by itself, not of much help in this regard. The truly helpful feature of the editor's work is the collection of parallel passages given in an appendix. But the real difficulty which confronts a student of philosophy lies in the looseness of the terminology and the poetic imagery employed in the text quoted. The terminology requires to be carefully defined so that the exact connotation of the terms can be fixed with logical precision. I now propose to sum up the results attained by me after careful study and reflection on the text together with a statement of the problems, which have exercised my mind, with a view to focus the attention of scholars on them.

The Ultimate Reality according to Vasubandhu seems to be pure consciousness bereft of diremption into subject and object, as we can gather from the *Triṃśikā* and its commentary. This is also called *Pariniṣpanna* or the Transcendental Form. The second form is the *Paratantra*

or the contingent. The third is the *Parīkalpita*, which I propose to render as 'false construction.' The editor translates it as *imaginary*, but I do not think it free from undesirable association, which should be scrupulously guarded against in philosophical writings. These three forms or types of reality constitute the subject-matter of the book under review. The second type of reality is designated as the *asatkālpa*, i.e., the principle of false construction. It has three varieties, viz. (1) the primordial consciousness, also called the store-house consciousness, which contains in itself the *vāsanās*, the predispositions and potentialities of evolution; (2) the contingent or the causal products; (3) the illusory appearance or false construction (verse 8). The contents of consciousness come under the second head. They are the products of the formative principles, called *vāsanās*, which are inherent in the primordial store-house consciousness. The third variety comprises all extra-mental things, which are false constructions out of the objective reference of the contents of consciousness. The extra-mental objects are unreal, and so the objective reference is unreal. But the contents of consciousness *per se* have empirical reality, as they are not facts of interpretation like the extra-mental objects. They are real ideas, evolved out of real *vāsanās* though they are false as hypostatized. The Transcendental Form is absolutely real, as it is bereft of subject-object polarisation and so self-contained. This is in brief the statement of Vasubandhu's metaphysical thesis. Incidentally I may refer to a textual difficulty in verse 36. Mr. Mukhopādhyāya translates *citta* in the text as *Pure consciousness* and as *mind* alternately without caring to distinguish the meaning of the terms. From a careful consideration of the parallel passages quoted by the editor and of the evidence of the *Trīṃśikā* it is quite obvious that *cittamātra* means the pure subjective consciousness (*grāhaka-citta*) and not Pure consciousness in the present context. Moreover, Vasubandhu seems to reserve the word *citta* for impure consciousness both in the present work as well as in the *Vijñāpatimātratāsiddhi*. If

the editor's translation were correct, Pure consciousness would not be the ultimate Reality, as it is said to be sublated in the realization of the *Dharmadhātu*, the Absolute Reality, which is equated by Vasubandhu with Pure consciousness in the *Triṃśikā*.

I now propose to state my difficulties; firstly, what is the relation of *Ālayavijñāna* to the Pure Transcendental consciousness? Is it organic or accidental? Secondly, is the *Ālayavijñāna* a real transformation of the First Principle or only an appearance? Thirdly, is the *Ālayavijñāna* ultimately real? Fourthly, is the Transcendental Pure consciousness one in all subjects or variant with the varying egos? Fifthly, is the Transcendental consciousness a changing dynamic principle or a static entity owing all its dynamism to the *vāsanās*? Sixthly, are the *vāsanās* integral to the Transcendental consciousness or external forces which somehow supervene upon the former? The last question can be propounded in a different form as follows. Is the *Paratantra* a real evolution of the Transcendental Principle or only an adjunct having no organic connection with it?

Vasubandhu speaks of *ālayavijñāna* as a transformation of pure consciousness and Sthiramati unmistakably emphasizes the reality of the transformation. A student of philosophy finds in it a veritable crux. How can the real transition refrain from infecting pure consciousness with its contingent character? How can it again be reconciled with the positive assertion that it is the *Tathatā*, the unchanging principle which remains the same for all time? The situation comes to be this: Either we must believe the change to be unreal and apparent or believe the Transcendental to be only the consummation of the process of evolution and not ever-existent. So the first question leads to a dilemma. The same result applies to the second question. As regards the third question, we can give a categorical answer. The *ālayavijñāna* cannot lay claim to ultimacy, as it is definitely asserted to come to cessation or at any event to undergo transformation into pure consciousness.

I am not definite on the fourth point, as I have not been able to light upon any text. I shall be infinitely obliged if the editor, who is working on Vasubandhu, satisfies me with definite textual proofs. The problem can be solved if the *dharmadhātu* or *dharmakāya* can be shown to be one or many. The problem is of paramount importance, since the decision whether Vasubandhu's philosophy is monistic or pluralistic hinges upon its solution. The fifth and sixth questions are identical in philosophical value. The one may be regarded as the corollary of the other.

We may find a clue to the solution of the problems in verse 12. The *Paratantra*, which covers the whole field of consciousness on this side of the Transcendental consciousness, is declared to be real only as the condition of illusion. The subject-object polarisation is false and the *Paratantra* in so far as it participates in this false appearance is unreal. Its reality consists in its being the basis of illusion. But the real basis is the real consciousness. In so far as it is a distinct manifestation it is unreal. If the contingent (*Paratantra*) aspect be only an apparent and illusory transformation, the *vāsanās*, which are the formative principles of this transformation and have their seat in the *citta* or *ālayavijñāna*, must be asserted to be equally unreal. At any event Vasubandhu is unmistakably clear that *ālayavijñāna* with all its evolutes is not conterminous with the *Tathatā*, though it runs parallel to it and is bound up with the former so far as the first start and subsequent career are concerned. In point of fact the historical career of *ālayavijñāna* has no beginning, though it has an end. If the *Tathatā* or pure consciousness be a transcendental principle for all time and not the conclusion of the historical evolution of *ālayavijñāna*, the latter together with all its eventual products must be declared to be an unreal appearance in and over the transcendental consciousness. If this be the true interpretation of Vasubandhu's idealism, it should be called Transcendental Idealism and if the ultimate reality be one in all centres of consciousness, for which there is every presumption though Vasubandhu is rather non-committal, we

shall have no hesitation to equate it with the philosophy of Gauḍapāda and Śāṅkarācārya. I appeal to the editor to address himself to the task of collecting data from all sources, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese, for which he is singularly competent, so that the tentative suggestions of mine can be tested and our knowledge of Vasubandhu's philosophy be put upon an unassailable footing.

In fine, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not handsomely acknowledge the merits of the work. The industry of the editor, his judicious selection of parallel passages and neat editing deserve our sincere praise.

Satkari Mookerjee

**The Early History of Ceylon**, by G. C. Mendis, B.A., Ph. D.: with a foreword by Prof. Wilhelm Geiger: The 'Heritage and Life of Ceylon' Series, No. 1: Fourth Edition, revised and enlarged: Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta, 1940: pp. 173, with 20 illustrations, 11 maps and plans: Price, Indian, Rs. 2/8, Ceylonese Rs. 2.50.

This is an exceedingly useful little book, well-planned and well-executed in the usual style of similar volumes published in the important 'Heritage of India' series, with which the sister series relating to Ceylon has made its welcome advent. Within the short compass of some 150 pages the ancient and medieval history of this Island, which is really a part of India when we consider the race, language and culture of its inhabitants, from the earliest times to the end of the reign of Parākramabāhu VIII (1509 A. D.) is given; during the reign of this king the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon ushering in the modern period of the history of the Island. In his foreword Dr. Wilhelm Geiger, the veteran Pali and Sinhalese scholar, has eulogised the critical eye with which the author Dr. Mendis has looked at the old historical traditions. The work indeed, as Dr. Geiger says, is a rich source of interesting information, and this information is reliable. It begins with an account of the pre-historic peoples of Ceylon, including the Vāddas,



and their culture. Dr. Mendis leaves the question of the arrival of the Aryan speakers in Ceylon, the linguistic forbears of the present-day Sinhalese, open, as to which part of India they migrated from. It looks from a number of linguistic reasons noted by Geiger and by the present reviewer that the first Aryan-speaking settlers from India came from the Gujarat side rather than Bengal, although in subsequent times there was some close connection with Bengal and Eastern India (Magadha) from where Buddhism came to Ceylon. The history is unfolded epoch by epoch, and the author has not confined himself to political history alone—he has given ample indication of the civilisation of the people in the succeeding periods as it manifested itself in art and literature, in agriculture and trade and in administration and organisation. The interaction of Buddhism and other faiths, Brahmanism and the pre-Aryan religion, has also been discussed: and political and other connections with India which have always been exceedingly intimate, have also been fully taken note of. The illustrations form a representative selection of Ceylonese art and architecture, and the maps and plans are all very useful. Altogether this book forms a very good little introduction to the history and culture of Ceylon, the first of the lands of Greater India, and public appreciation of it has been amply demonstrated by the fact that the book has already seen its fourth edition since its first publication in 1932.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji.

## **Editorial Notes**

### **Visit of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.**

On the occasion of the brief visit to Calcutta of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, the members of the Managing Committee of the Greater India Society, of which he is an elected Vice-President, entertained him at a Tea Party in the rooms of the Mahabodhi Society on the afternoon of the 24th July 1941. The pleasant function, which was opened with a welcome address by the Honorary Secretary of the Greater India Society, was attended by most of the members of the Managing Committee and several other well-wishers of the Society. The distinguished guest mixed freely with the company who appreciated him very much. On the next day Mr. Dikshit delivered an interesting and well-attended public lecture on *India's Heritage* at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the chair.

### **Fifth Indian History Congress, Hyderabad.**

The Greater India Society has received and accepted the invitation of the Local Secretary, Fifth Indian History Congress, to send delegates to the Congress which is to be held at Hyderabad on the 21st to the 23rd December next. The names of gentlemen representing the Society at the Congress will be published in the next number of our Journal.

### **Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.**

The Secretary of the above Institute has recently written to us offering exchange of its publications with those of the Greater India Society. The offer has been gladly accepted by ourselves.

### **Celebration of the eightieth anniversary of Sir P. C. Roy, President of the Greater India Society.**

To commemorate the attainment of his eightieth year by Sir P. C. Ray, a public meeting was organised by the

Prafulla Jayanti (Celebrations) Committee on Saturday the 2nd August at 4 p.m. in the spacious hall of the Calcutta University Senate House. The function was presided over by Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, Ex-Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, who is one of the oldest and most respected of Sir P. C. Ray's pupils. The vast crowd which filled the hall to suffocation was an index of the esteem and reverence in which the great Indian savant and philanthropist is held by the people of Bengal. The proceedings aptly commenced with the singing in chorus of Bankim Chandra's immortal poem *Bande Mataram* ('Hail Motherland') which has come to be accepted over a large part of India as our national anthem. This was followed by recitation of some fine Sanskrit verses composed by Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Professor of Sanskrit, Calcutta University, who is a member of Managing Committee of the Greater India Society. Then came the presentation of addresses by various public bodies such as the Jayanti Committee, the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Indian Chemical Society, the National Institute of Science and the Greater India Society. The address of the last-named body is quoted below in full:

"To

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D.,  
F.C.S., F.R.A.S.B., etc., etc.

"Sir,

"On behalf of the Greater India Society of which you have been the honoured President for some years past, we beg to offer you our heartiest felicitations on the completion of your eightieth year.

"By your publication of the *History of Hindu Chemistry* you opened the eyes of the scholarly world to the attainments of our ancestors in this branch of science. The Nagarjuna prize, which is one of your gifts to the Calcutta University, fittingly commemorates your rediscovery of the great Hindu chemist-

philosopher from the oblivion of centuries. You have thus been instrumental in opening a new chapter in the cultural history of India and Greater India.

"By the simplicity of your life, your solicitude for the well-being of your students and your life-long *tapasya* for the cause of learning, you have been a shining example of the great ideals of an Indian guru. You have seen the fulfilment of your ideals in the creation of a *sampradaya* of your pupils who are filled with the same devotion to Truth and Service which has been your distinguishing characteristic.

"You have been a pioneer in the cause of industrial awakening of our province, and you have sounded the clarion call to our people to rouse them from the slumber of ages.

"We are grateful to you for your conspicuous services in the cause of science, and for your noble work in enriching our mother-tongue through the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and other institutions.

"Your services on behalf of the poor and the afflicted, and your saintly career as a life-long *Brahmacharin* will be an inspiration to our people for generations to come.

"We pray to the Almighty that you may long be spared to serve our Motherland.

We remain,

Sir,

Yours in love and esteem,  
Upendra Nath Ghoshal,

*Honorary Secretary,*  
Kalidas Nag,

*Honorary Joint-Secretary,*

On behalf of the Managing Committee of  
The Greater India Society.

Calcutta."

Calcutta University,  
The 2nd August, 1941.



The main function of the meeting being over, the President delivered an address in Bengali, the gist of which is given below. The contribution of Acharya Ray to the national life said the President was unrivalled. He was a path-finder in the new awakening of India. A country which could produce such a man had no reason for despair. It is to be doubted whether his unrivalled genius or his child-like simplicity or his love for the poor and the destitute or his renunciation was his greatest contribution to the national life. The example of his celibate life has cast a spell over his countrymen. They all prayed to God that he might attain the hundredth year of his life.

In replying to the addresses the honoured guest delivered a most moving speech. He complimented the various public bodies sharing in the function upon their achievements and wished them a very happy future. To the Greater India Society he offered his congratulations for attaining recognition in the international sphere. He concluded his speech with these solemn words which are given below in English translation.

"The bark of my life has almost reached the port of its destination. The time has come when I should lead myself beyond the reach of praise or blame and step ashore. When I have served my time, I shall still desire to live again and again in the lives of those who will carry on the struggle from generation to generation until the fourfold curse of tyranny, injustice, poverty and ignorance is lifted from the brow of my beloved long-suffering motherland."

### **Thailand Research Society**

Thanks to the kind initiative of Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales we have for some time past been able to establish our much-desired scholarly co-operation with Thailand. Recently the Secretary of the Thailand Research Society made us a welcome offer for mutual exchange of our publications. It gave us great pleasure to signify our immediate acceptance of this offer. We have since



received the latest issue (vol. XXXIII, Pt. 1) of the Journal of the Thailand Research Society which contains, among other things, the following appreciative notice of our Journal.

*"Journal of the Greater India Society,  
Vol. VII, No. 2, July, 1940.*

"The latest number of this Journal testifies to the undiminished activity of the Greater India Society. The field covered should be of special interest to our part of the world for obvious reasons. This number, moreover, pays particular attention to a field of research not easily accessible to the average student of Oriental Research—that of the Dutch East Indies—for the reason that very many people do not read Dutch with the same facility as English, French or German."

The Greater India Society also conveys its grateful thanks to some individual members of the Council of Thailand Research Society for extending their valuable co-operation with its activities. Some time back Major Erik Seidenfaden, President of the Thailand Research Society, in reply to a letter of the present writer, sent us a copy of His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat's monograph, *The Coronation of His Majesty Prajadhipok, King of Siam* as his personal gift to the Greater India Society. A brief notice of this most interesting monograph will appear later in this Journal. We are also pleased to announce that His Highness who is a Vice-President of the Thailand Research Society and Acting Editor of the Society's Journal has very recently been kind enough to present us with a collection of his notes and reviews in English together with a book in Thai discussing the origin of the Panji Cycle of Romances. It is to be devoutly hoped that the co-operation so happily started between the Thailand Research Society and ourselves will continue to flourish in the coming years to our common advantage.

### In Memoriam—Rabindranath Tagore

On the 7th August, 1941 passed away at his Calcutta residence Rabindranath Tagore whom the world had long recognised as one of the greatest Indians of his generation and one of the noblest humanists of all times. It is not possible for us in the present place to take stock of the brilliance of his achievements as a God-gifted seer and poet, as a staunch Indian nationalist and withal a lover of universal humanity. But a Society which had the proud privilege of counting the illustrious poet as its patron from its very foundation may well be excused if it recalls at this tragic hour the happy memories of his association with its activities. We well remember how when in January 1934 we started the Journal of the Greater India Society, we were greatly heartened by his profound message which we have pleasure in reproducing below :

“To know my country in truth one has to travel to that age when she realised her soul and thus transcended her physical boundaries; when she revealed her being in a radiant magnanimity which illumined the eastern horizon making her recognised as their own by those in alien shores who were awakened into a great surprise of life; and not now when she has withdrawn herself within a narrow barrier of obscurity, into a miserly pride of exclusiveness, into a poverty of mind that dumbly revolves round itself in an unmeaning repetition of a past that has lost its light and has no message to the pilgrims of the future”.

When in January 1936 we brought out the Sylvain Lévi Memorial Number of our Journal, we had the pleasure of opening it with the following touching tribute paid by the greatest of the then living Indian poets and thinkers to the *doyen* of European Orientalists :—

“Sylvain Lévi is dead. The penetrating mind that explored the obliterated paths of India's ancient history, difficult of access, has laid down its task. And for the intellectual service he has rendered to India, precious

in its rareness and luminous in its sagacity, we can but offer our homage of praise to his memory. He has joined the past which is immortal and which it was his own life's work to bring to the recognition of the living present. The students from India who had the opportunity of receiving his unfailing kindness and untiring help will ever mourn his loss, the loss of a friend and a guide.

"He has a special claim of gratitude from me who represent Śāntiniketan, for he was the first of the European scholars who readily responded to my call and came to train our own students and scholars in the scientific technique of historical research; he has helped me to create in our āśrama the tradition of the international fellowship of culture which he could do to a perfection, not only because his scholarship was great, but also because he had the beautiful gift of friendliness and genuine sympathy for students and patience for them even when their capacity was too elementary for the learning which he himself possessed".

In a happier mood we were able to extend our heartiest felicitations (*JGIS.*, Vol. VII, No. 2) to our illustrious patron on the occasion of his receiving the high and well-deserved honour of Doctorate of Literature (*Honoris Causa*) of the Oxford University. By a curious coincidence this solemn ceremony, which took place at Śāntiniketan under the presidency of Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India, took place exactly a year previous to the poet's lamented demise. The grand address which the poet read in Sanskrit in accepting the honour well merits—though in an English garb—reproduction in full.

"*Delegates from Oxford University,* "

"In honouring me, an Indian poet, your ancient seat of learning has chosen to express its great tradition of humanity. This tradition, to-day, has acquired a deeper and more pressing significance; I feel proud

to accept its message, and the recognition it conveys, as a symbol of the undying spirit of man. I welcome you here at Śāntiniketan, and I assure you that this friendly gift that you have brought to me and to my country, will remain in our hearts and bid us stand together for the common cause of civilisation.

“In an era of mounting anguish and vanishing worth, when disaster is fast overtaking countries and continents, with savagery let loose and brutal thirst for possession augmented by science, it may sound merely poetic to speak of any emerging principle of world-wide relationship. But Time’s violence, however immediately threatening, is circumscribed, and we who live beyond it and dwell also in the larger reality of Time, must renew our faith in the perennial growth of civilisation towards an ultimate purpose.

“I accept this recognition from Oxford University as a happy augury of an Age to come, and though I shall not live to see it established, let me welcome this friendly gesture as a promise of better days.”

Now that the cruel hand of death has snatched away our much beloved *gurudeva* from our midst, we can but share in the universal grief caused by his irreparable loss. On the 12th August 1941 we had the melancholy duty of meeting in the room of the President of our Society and passing a condolence resolution which was duly conveyed to the poet’s son under his signature.

### **Extracts from the Annual Report of the Greater India Society for 1940**

#### *General*

With the year 1940 the Greater India Society completed the thirteenth year of its existence. During the year under review the Society could not but suffer from the effects of the Great War which cut off all contacts with almost the whole of the scholarly world outside India. The Committee, however, is glad to observe that it has nevertheless, been possible for the Society to maintain its activities at their usual level.

#### *Management*

A slight change took place in the personnel of the Managing Committee during the year. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Curator of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum was elected as an additional member of the Committee. Simultaneously Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Mr. O. C. Gangoly two of our oldest members were elected to the new office of Vice-Presidents of the Committee. In other respects the constitution of the Committee remained the same as in the previous year. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal continued to act as Honorary Editor of the Journal of the Society over and above his duties as Honorary Secretary of the Society, while Dr. Kalidas Nag continued to act as Honorary Joint Secretary. The business of the Committee was disposed of as the occasion arose by circulation among the members.

#### *Office*

No change has to be reported as to the office establishment. Babu Gauri Kinkar Banerji carried on the duties of office clerk on his usual annual honorarium. ... The menial work was carried out by Darwans of the 'Prabasi' office on their usual annual allowance.... The office typing was done *gratis* as in former years by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal. In the absence of Mr. P. K. Sen Mr. P. M. Sur of the same



firm (Messers. Sur & Sen) audited the accounts of the Society for the year without any remuneration. The Committee conveys its sincere thanks to the last-named gentleman for his valuable services on behalf of the Society.

### *Members & Subscribers*

The number of members on the Society's Roll on the 31st December, 1940 was nominally the same as on the corresponding date of 1939.... It is to be hoped that steps will be taken henceforth to realise all membership fees and as much of the arrears as possible. The Committee has the pleasant duty of recording as in previous years its high appreciation of the support extended to the Society's Journal by various provincial governments and Universities in British India, by the Director-General of Archaeology and the various officers under his jurisdiction and by the enlightened Governments of Baroda, Gwalior, Mysore and Travancore.

### *Finance*

The closing balance of the Society's accounts on the 31st December, 1940 was Rs. 1084-0-11 as compared with Rs. 1355-7-8, the corresponding figure for the previous year. On the receipt side the Society profited as in previous years by the kind donation of Rs. 400-0-0 from the National Council of Education, Bengal and Rs. 100-0-0 from Dr. N. N. Law, one of our esteemed members.

Under the head 'Subscription to Journal' the receipts amounted to Rs. 176-10-0 as compared with Rs. 135-7-8 the figure for the last year. The sale of books and pamphlets accounted for Rs. 143-5-10, with which may be compared Rs. 184-1-6, the corresponding figure for 1939. It is to be earnestly trusted that steps will be taken to increase the income under this head in the next year. On the expenditure side the largest item naturally was under the head 'Printing, binding and stationery' which accounted for Rs. 743-8-0. With this may be compared the figure for the last year viz. 448-0-9. The extra expenditure was

incurred for meeting the balance of charges for publication of '*Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*' by Prof. G. Tucci. Under the head 'Allowance to staff' the charges amounted to Rs. 155-9-0 which compares favourably with the corresponding charge for the previous year, viz. Rs. 165-3-0. This item included the typist's and proof-reader's charges for the two issues of the Journal. The Postal charges accounted for Rs. 74-6-9 which shows a slight decrease as compared with the figure for the previous year, viz. Rs. 86-7-6.

#### *Publications*

Two issues of the Journal (vol. VII, nos. 1 and 2) were published in the course of the year. The longest article appearing in its two successive issues was that of Dr. J. Hackin, Director of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan. It described the results of the excavations carried out by the author on the site of a ruined Buddhist monastery at Fondukistan in the Ghorband District of Afghanistan. Other important papers dealt with the antiquities of Cambodia, Malay Peninsula and Indonesia, with the Hittites and with the interrelation of India and Indonesian cultures. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Journal continued during the year to be on the exchange list of most of the standard Orientalist periodicals both Indian and foreign. In the year under review the Society was able to publish, in spite of the difficulties created by the Great War, the work called *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley* by Prof. G. Tucci. As regards the English version of *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* by Prof. N. J. Krom, the complete Ms. was returned to the translator Mr. H. B. Sarkar for revision. It is to be hoped that the printing of this important work will be taken up in the course of the present year. Of the five monographs included in the series of Bulletins of the Society, three were announced in the previous year for re-issue since their stock was almost or entirely exhausted. The Committee regrets to state that this much-needed task

remained unfulfilled. It is to be earnestly hoped that the revised editions of these useful works for which there is a steady demand might be taken in hand at an early date.

### *Library*

During the year under review the Society's Library was enriched by a constantly flowing stream of Journals, books and pamphlets received in exchange or for review or by gift. Under our existing arrangement with the Calcutta University these were made over from time to time to the University Library to be kept in the Society's own separate collection.

### *Lectures*

As in former years a course of popular lectures was arranged for by the Society in collaboration with the National Council of Education, Bengal. The names of the lecturers and the subjects of the lectures with the dates of their delivery are given below :

1. Sarasi Kumar Saraswati—*The Art of Paharpur in relation to Greater India*, 23. 8. 40.
2. Nihar Ranjan Ray—*Wall-Paintings of Pagan*, 13.9.40.
3. Suniti Kumar Chatterji—*Sanskrit in Asia*, 19. 9. 40
4. Jitendra Nath Banerjea—*Ancient Indian Cult-deities and their emblems on coins and seals*.
5. Kunja Govinda Goswami—*Bangarh Excavations*, 10. 12. 40
6. Priya Ranjan Sen—*Bengalees in Burma*, 4. 2. 41
7. Kalidas Nag—*Assam and Manipur*, 12. 2. 41

To all these gentlemen who have benefited the Society with their lectures the Committee offers its most sincere thanks.

### *Congresses and Conferences*

During the year under report the Committee accepted invitations for sending delegates to the fourth Session of the Indian History Congress at Lahore. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Mr. Jitendra Nath Banerjea attended it as the Society's representatives and took an active part in its

deliberations. At the Tirupati session of the All-India Oriental Conference the Society was represented by Mr. O. C. Gangoly (who was President of the Fine Arts Section), Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterje and Mr. Jitendra Nath Banerjea.

### *Conclusion*

In concluding this brief report about the working of the Society for the last year the Committee cannot but gratefully remember those friends and well-wishers of the Society who have helped it in various ways. Among these special mention should be made of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee (President of the Post-Graduate Council, Calcutta University), Dr. Narendra Nath Law (Editor, *Indian Historical Quarterly*), Mr. P. N. Sur, (Incorporated Accountant), Mr. Ramananda Chatterji (Editor, *Modern Review*) and the authorities of the National Council of Education, Bengal. It is however a fact, that funds are urgently needed for meeting the Society's immediate requirements, more specially that of housing its growing collection of publications. Equally insistent is the need for young recruits for continuing the good work that the Society has started on such a modest scale. The Committee appeals to all lovers of Indian culture in this country and abroad for help in this noble task, and it earnestly trusts that its appeal will not go in vain.

## Obituary Notice

Joseph Hackin, 1886-1941

By the tragic death of Prof. J. Hackin in an air-crash in England on the 23rd April last the world of Oriental scholarship has been deprived of one of its most devoted workers and the Greater India Society of one of its most respected collaborators.

Born in the petty State of Luxembourg on the 8th November 1886, Joseph Hackin received his early training in Orientalia at the Ecole des Hautes Études in Paris, where he took his lessons in Sanskrit and Tibetan at the feet of that *doyen* of French Orientalists, the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi. His main interest, however lay in the sphere of Buddhist Art and Archæology, specially those of Tibet and Eastern Turkestan. He found congenial occupation at the Musée Guimet, that famous Museum of Oriental antiquities in Paris, which he served with conspicuous ability first as Assistant Keeper and afterwards as Curator for many years. His first published work, prepared in collaboration with a Chinese colleague, was a Catalogue of Chinese paintings preserved in the Musée Guimet (Tchang Yi-tchou et J. Hackin. *La peinture chinoise au Musée Guimet*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Art, iv, Paris, 1910). He followed this up with a number of valuable works on the art of Tibet and adjacent lands. Among these we may mention his monograph on the art of Tibet based on the Bacot Collection of the Musée Guimet (*L'Art tibétain*, Introduction de M. J. Bacot, Paris, 1911), his Memoir on the Life of the Buddha as represented in the Tibetan Iconography (*Les Scènes figurées de la vie du Bouddha dans l'iconographie tibétaine*, Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, Vol. II, Paris, 1916), *Some Notes on Tibetan Paintings*, Rūpam, No. 7), *Indian Art in Tibet and Central Asia* (The India



Society, London 1925) and, last but not the least, his important work on Indian and Tibetan Sculpture in Musée Guimet (*La Sculpture indienne et tibétaine au Musée Guimet*, Paris, 1931). Of a more general character is his Guide-catalogue of the Buddhist Collections of India, Gandhara, Eastern Turkestan, North China and Tibet preserved in the Musée Guimet (Paris, 1923). Speaking of the last-named publication, Mr. G. de Roerich rightly observes that it is not merely a dry inventory of the Museum collections, but a general survey of the Buddhist Art in India, China, Central Asia and Tibet.

In the field of archæological exploration Hackin's greatest work lay in Afghanistan. Thanks to the treaty negotiated by Prof. A. Foucher with the Afghan Government in 1922, the archæology of the Afghan country till then barred by seven seals was thrown open to the enterprise of French scholars. This was immediately followed by the foundation of the French Archæological Delegation in Afghanistan, which under a succession of brilliant scholars has been exploring and excavating various ancient sites in that fascinating country for the last 20 years. Appointed Field-Director of the Delegation in 1930, Hackin undertook a series of explorations on sundry sites of archæological interest in the Afghan country. One of his earlier excavations was that of a Brahmanical temple, the first of its kind as yet found in Afghanistan, with a unique Sūrya image at Khair-khaneh, 12 miles north-west of Kabul. The results of these excavations were communicated by the late lamented scholar to the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. III, no. 1 in a paper which appeared in an English garb under the title "Archæological Exploration of the Neck of Khair-khaneh (near Kabul)." The field-season of 1936-37 was devoted by Hackin and his associates to the exploration of a number of sites of which the most important were Begram (ancient Kāpīsi), Shotorak and Fondukistan. Among the ruins of Begram were discovered numerous bronze and glass objects of the workmanship of Syrian artists (first to fourth century A.D.), and what is still

more interesting, a considerable number of ivory plaques of Indian workmanship bearing affinities to the Mathura School of Art of the Kushan times. At Shotorak were laid bare the ruins of Buddhist shrines which yielded numerous sculptures of the third to the fourth century A.D. At Fondukistan the excavations revealed the remains of a Buddhist monastery consisting of a main sanctuary and its adjuncts. Here were found numbers of clay modellings and mural paintings showing Gupta and pre-Gupta influences and a few antiquities (including a most interesting pair of Lunar and Solar deities) representing Central Asian types. The *Journal of the Greater India Society* had the privilege of publishing a most valuable account (in English translation) of these excavations from the pen of the late lamented scholar in two successive issues ("Archaeological Excavations in Fondukistan," *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-14; *Ibid.*, No. 2, pp. 85-91, illustrated with 34 figures). Among Hackin's more important publications concerned with Afghanistan antiquities may be noticed two volumes in the series *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan*, Vol. III, (*Nouvelle Recherches Archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, Paris, 1933), *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, (*Recherches Archéologiques au Col de Khair-khaneh près de Kabul*, Paris 1936), *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, *Recherches Archéologiques à Begram*, 2 vols., Paris, 1939), this last being reviewed by Mr. O. C. Gangoly in *JGIS.*, Vol. VII, no. 2. Another volume of the same series (Bamian) has been left incomplete at the time of his death.

The Musée Guimet with which Hackin was associated for the greater part of his scholarly career underwent considerable development in his life-time. New halls were added to it like the Salle Pelliot (for housing the rich collections of silk paintings recovered by the Pelliot Mission from the walled-up library of Tun-huang in north-west China) and the Salle d'Afghanistan for storing the results of excavations by the French Archæological Delegation in Afghanistan. In 1935 the Museum was in a position to celebrate its 50th Anniversary in a befitting manner.

Besides undertaking his most fruitful work of excavation in Afghanistan Hackin found time to join a French archaeological expedition in Eastern Turkestan (1931) and to visit Japan to further the work of the Franco-Japanese Society (Maison Franco-Japonaise): in Tokio in 1932-33. He also used to conduct courses in Indian art and archæology, in Tibetan and Central Asian art at the Ecole du Louvre in Paris. Among his purely literary publications may be mentioned his edition and translation of a Sanskrit-Tibetan Manuscript of the 10th century A.D. brought by the Pelliot Mission from Tun-huang (*Formulaire Sanscrit-tibétain du X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, Paris, 1924).

The sudden death of Dr. Hackin while he was still engaged in the midst of his useful labours in the Afghan country is a painful reminder of the toll which the present war is taking on the lives of those gifted scholars (alas! too few) who have devoted their lives to the recovery of the lost civilisation of the countries touched by Indian culture. It is to be feared that a long time will elapse before the work of the French Archæological Delegation in Afghanistan will be resumed by a scholar of the depth, penetration and enthusiasm of Joseph Hackin.\*

U. N. Ghoshal

\*The writer expresses his obligations to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *Modern Review*, Calcutta, for permission to utilise certain statements appearing in Mr. Georges de Roerich's paper on the late lamented scholar, which was published in *Modern Review*, June 1941.

## Rabindranath Tagore

(Born 7th May, 1861 ; Died 7th August, 1941).

The Poet-Laureate of Asia and Cultural Ambassador of the New Orient is no more. From the very inception of our Greater India Society Rabindranath was our *Purodha* and in this note we offer him our humble gratitude and homage for all that he has done for the renaissance of India and for the revival of the cultural relations of India with the outside world.

The Poet's father, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, we should remember, was the pioneer of the revival of Vedic studies in Bengal, financing about a century ago, a special mission of Bengali Pandits to Benares in order to acquire the correct traditions of Vedic lore. The earliest Bengali translations of the Vedas were published in Debendranath's Journal *Tattva-Bodhinī Patrikā*, and Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj based on Vedic culture, came to Bengal specially to greet the venerable father of the Poet. The ideals of the Vedic *Āshrama* and the "Message of the Forest" transmitted through the *Āraṇyaka*s and the *Upanishads* remained till the Poet's last days the mainspring of his spiritual and artistic creations.

In his early boyhood Rabindranath was nurtured in the cultural atmosphere created by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the editor of the *Baṅgadarśan* and Dwijendranath Tagore, the editor of the *Bhāratī*. While still in his teens Rabindranath was composing poems and songs like a true prodigy that he was, and sailed away to Europe (September, 1878—March 1880) while he was writing essays on "The Anglo Saxons and their literature," "Beatrice and Dante" in the *Bhāratī*. He studied English literature under Henry Morley at the University College of London, but returned to India (March, 1880) from his first foreign tour without completing any course of studies. In 1881 he composed his first musical drama *Vālmiki Pratibhā* based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In 1884, he published *Bhānuṣiṃha Thākurer Padāvali* showing

his wonderful mastery of the composition of the mediæval Vaiṣṇava poets. The same year he published in his volume *Kaḍi o Komal* ('Sharps and Flats'), translations from Shelley, Mrs. Browning, Ernest Myers, Aubrey De Vere, Victor Hugo, Musset and others. He imbibed his love for French literature from his brother Jyotirindranāth Tagore, who enriched our Bengali literature with copious translations from the classics of the Latin group of languages. Two other friends of the Poet, helping him to appreciate European literature in early days, were Mr. Loken Palit I. C. S. and Mr. Priyanath Sen, the erudite poet and critic. He paid a second visit to Europe in 1890 (August—November). In 1891 when the Poet appeared as an independent editor of his Bengali monthly *Sādhanā* (December, 1891) he published highly thoughtful essays and criticisms of contemporary literature, his famous play *Bisarjan* ('Sacrifice'), his magnificent poem on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* ('Cloud Messenger') as well as his 'Diary of a traveller in Europe.' In the same year (1891) was consecrated the temple at Santiniketan where the Poet was to start ten years later his famous school. In 1894 on the passing away of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee the Poet composed a paper on the Father of Bengali Novels. The same year he wrote articles showing the poetic and cultural value of our folk songs and nursery rhymes which he had been collecting with zeal from the villages of his father's estates.

In 1900 (December) he delivered his first sermon at the tenth annual festival of the Santiniketan where on the 7th of Paus (26th December 1901) the following year, he formally opened his Brahmacharya Ashrama. In 1901 also he revived Bankim Chandra's *Baṅgadarśan* which he continued to edit for five years. A series of domestic tragedies followed. The poet's wife Srimati Mrinalini Devi died on the 23rd of November, 1902; his second daughter Renuka died in May, 1903; the venerable father Maharshi Debendranath died in January, 1905; and his youngest son Somindra died in November 1907. Instead of crushing his spirit these sufferings purified the soul of the Poet and



elevated his literary creations to the realm of divine mysticism which would find its supreme lyrical expression in his *Gītāñjali* (1910). The memories of his dying children were immortalised in a volume of poems *Śiśu*, ('the Crescent Moon' in English adaptation) 1903 and in the poignant symbolical drama *Dāk Ghar* ('The Post Office'), 1912. The Poet was also the leader and the minstrel of the first great Indian national (Swadeshi) movement born out of the partition of Bengal. In 1905 he opened a new line of cultural co-operation by helping Sister Nivedita of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Mission and the famous Japanese art-critic Okakura Kakuzo (author of the *Ideals of the East*) in the organization of the New School of Art in Bengal sponsored by E. B. Havell and Abanindranath Tagore. In 1907 he began to publish in the Bengali monthly *Prabāsī* edited by Ramananda Chatterjee, his great social novel *Gorā*, reflecting the age of the Swadeshi movement. In 1909 in a drama *Prāyaścitta* ('Atonement'), the Poet anticipated the philosophy and technique of non-violent non-co-operation (*Satyāgraha* of Gandhi). He wrote a paper on *Tapovana* ('The Hermitage') and the allegorical play *Raja* in 1910. The fiftieth Birthday of the Poet was celebrated in 1911 with a grand meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall and the same year the Poet published an autobiographical fragment *Jiban-Smṛti* ('Reminiscences') in *Prabāsī*. In 1911-1912 he completed his famous plays *Achalāyatana* and *Dāk-Ghar* and composed the sublime national song *Jana-gaṇa-mana-adhināyaka* symbolising the spiritual unity underlying the diversity of Indian Culture. He also wrote a highly thoughtful paper on the main currents of Indian History (*Bhāratvarṣer Itihāser Dhārā*).

Between May 1912 and September 1913 the poet was on his third foreign tour, during which he cultivated the personal friendship of W. B. Yeats, Ernest Rhys, Henry Nevins, May Sinclair, Charles Trevelyan and William Rothenstein. The India Society of London published the first English translation, by the Poet himself, of his mature lyrics, the *Gītāñjali*. The Poet delivered a course of lectures (*Sādhana*) at the Harvard University and read a paper on

"Race conflict" at the Congress of Races, Rochester. He also lectured at the Chicago University on the "Ideals of Ancient Indian Civilization." Thanks to this cultural mission of Tagore, the whole of Europe and America came to regard India with a new feeling of admiration and respect. On the 13th of November 1913 the Nobel Prize for literature came for the first time to the continent of Asia, being awarded to the Bengali Poet who was hailed by the then Viceroy, Lord Hardinge as "the Poet-Laureate of Asia." The University of Calcutta had already decided to confer on him its D.Litt. (*Honoris Causa*), and on the 29th of January, 1914 Lord Carmichael, the Governor of Bengal, handed over to the Poet the Nobel Prize and the Medal at a special reception. In June 1915, the King-Emperor conferred on him a knighthood and the Poet composed in Bengali a sonnet on Shakespeare for his Tercentenary Commemoration Volume. In 1915, also appeared his brilliant social novel *Ghare-Baire* ('The Home and the World'), the lyrical drama *Phālguni* (the Cycle of Spring) and his sublime collection of poems *Balākā* ('The Swan'). In 1915 Mahatma Gandhi visited Santiniketan twice and kept there for a while the students and staff of the Phoenix School, started by him in the Transvaal. Rev. C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson also began to collaborate with the Poet in his educational work.

His fourth foreign tour (May, 1916—March 1917) took him *via* Burma and Malaya to Japan where at the University of Tokyo he delivered his lectures on *Nationalism*, "exposing the spirit of violence and imperialist greed inherent in the Nation-State." Crossing over to the U. S. A. he addressed the Yale University and the public of Boston and his lectures were published later on as *Personality*. In 1918 the Poet received Mr. E. S. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India and also Sir Michael Sadler and the members of the Calcutta University Commission. He published then his brilliant satire on Pseudo-education *Totā-Kāhinī* ('The Parrot's Training'). The foundation-stone of Visva Bharati was laid in Santiniketan (1918) after the death of his eldest

daughter (May). In 1919 he delivered an address before the National University of Mrs. Annie Besant at Adyar as its Chancellor. Following the Jallianwallah Bagh tragedy (April 18, 1919) he renounced his knighthood and started the Department of Higher Studies, the Vidyā Bhavan, of the Visva-Bharati (July, 1919).

In the expectation of securing scholarly and financial aids from abroad the Poet started on his fifth foreign tour (May 1920—July 1921). He met Bernard Shaw, Robert Bridges, Gilbert Murray, Lowes Dickinson, A. E., Bergson, Sylvain Lévi etc. He lectured at the Universities and learned societies of Brussels and Antwerp, of the Hague, and Leyden, of Paris and Strassbourg, of Geneva and Lucerne, of Basle and Zurich, of Darmstadt and Hamburg, of Copenhagen and Stockholm, of Berlin and Munich, of Fankfort, Vienna and Prague. He also crossed over to the U. S. A. and lectured on "The Meeting of the East and West."

Returning to India in the reactionary period of Non-co-operation, the Poet challenged the current popular sentiments by his lectures on the Meeting of Cultures (*Śikṣār milan*). In November 1921 Prof. Sylvain Lévi arrived to help organising researches in Chinese and Tibetan studies in Santiniketan and on the 22nd December Sir Brajendranath Seal formally inaugurated the Visva-Bharati. From now on the Poet's school at Santiniketan began to function as an International University in its real sense. It invited and arranged special courses of some of the outstanding scholars, writers and social workers from the East and the West; Dr. M. Winternitz from the German University of Prague, Prof. V. Lesny from the Czech University of Prague, Dr. Sten Konow of the Ethnographic Museum of Oslo, Prof. A. Bake of Holland, Dr. Germanus of Budapest, Andrée Karpeles of Paris, Prof. G. Tucci from the University of Naples and Rome, Dr. Harry Timbers from the Quaker group of Philadelphia, Prof. Tucker from California, Mon. F. Benoit from Switzerland, Mon. Bogdanov from Russia, Miss Flaum from Jerusalem, Poet Yone Noguchi

from Japan, Ju Peon the celebrated Chinese artist from Nanking, Mrs. and Miss Bruner the Hungarian artists, and a host of ardent scholars and social workers, men as well as women from different parts of the world, enjoyed the hospitality of the Founder-President of the Visva-Bharati and contributed to the widening of its international outlook. If any cultural institute of India merited full financial aid and special charity to function as the International University of India, it would be Rabindranath's Visva-Bharati. In February 1922 the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan was inaugurated with the help of Mr. L. K. Elmhirst. The Poet presided over the Shelley Centenary meeting in Calcutta (July 8, 1922).

In 1924 he was invited by Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee to deliver a course of special lectures on Literature at the University of Calcutta. Between March and July 1924, the Poet was on his sixth foreign tour visiting the cultural centres of China and Japan accompanied by Kshitimohan Sen, Nandalal Bose, and the writer who visited on return journey Indo-China, Java, Bali and Malaya. His seventh foreign tour (September 1924—February 1925), in course of which he fell seriously ill, brought him for a short while to South America, and in course of the voyage he composed his poems of *Pūrāvī* dedicated to the Poetess of Argentina Victoria Ocampo. In 1925 Prof. Carlo Formichi accompanied by Dr. G. Tucci came to Santiniketan as a visiting professor with a collection of Italian books. In December 1925, the Poet presided over the first Indian Philosophical Congress at the University of Calcutta reading a paper on the *Bauls* and the *Folk philosophy of Bengal*. In February 1926 he lectured on the Philosophy of Art at the University of Dacca and set out on his eighth foreign tour (May—December 1926) at the invitation of the Italian Government. He lectured in the various intellectual centres of Italy and passing through Switzerland met his old friend Romain Rolland and also Sir James Frazer, Prof. Forel, Duhemal and others. Through England he reached Norway and Sweden meeting Nansen, Bjornson, and Bojer. He

passed through Berlin, Dresden, Prague, Belgrade, Sofia, Bukharest, Athens and Cairo.

Before his ninth foreign tour (July—October, 1927) to Indonesia, the Greater India Society honoured its Purodha Dr. Tagore with a special reception at the Calcutta University Institute where at the end of the meeting the Poet blessed the Society. He started for Java and Bali accompanied by two artists of Santiniketan Surendranath Kar and Dhirendranath Dev Barman and by our learned colleague Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee who has recently published a most valuable diary of the tour (*Dvīpamaya Bhārata*). On the return trip the Poet visited Siam. Coming back to India he attended (August 1928) the centenary of the Brāhma Samāj, held at the Senate Hall and read a paper on "The message of Rammohun Roy." His tenth foreign tour (February,—July 1929) brought him to Canada to attend the Triennial Conference at Vancouver. On his return journey he delivered several lectures in Japan and broke journey in Indo-China where he was warmly received by the people and the French Government.

During his eleventh foreign tour (March 1930—January 1931) he revisited France and held an exhibition of his paintings in Paris. He met President Masaryk, Prof. Einstein and other celebrities and delivered at the University of Oxford his Hibbert lectures on "The Religion of Man." At the invitation of the Soviet Republic he visited Moscow, studied the cultural and economic activities of the U. S. S. R. and the recorded his impressions in his famous *Letters from Russia*. Crossing over to America he was received by President Hoover in Washington and a public banquet was given in his honour by the leading citizens of New York. Sinclair Lewis, Will Durant, and other American writers came personally to greet him. On his return, his seventieth Birthday was celebrated all over India and in a big public meeting at the Calcutta University Institute the Poet was felicitated by Mm. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, the President of the Greater India Society. The Joint-Secretary of the Society had the honour of preparing the *Golden Book of Tagore*



presented to the Poet at the Town Hall of Calcutta, 27th December, 1931. His twelfth and last foreign tour brought the Poet to Persia at the invitation of his Majesty Riza Shah Pehlvi who offered the Poet and his party a really grand "Oriental" hospitality. From Iran the Poet visited Iraq where he was received by King Feisal. Returning to India he was presented with a special address by the University of Calcutta and he accepted its offer to deliver the Kamala lectures. On the 11th of December 1932, the Poet presided at the seventieth Birthday celebration of Sir P. C. Ray, our revered President of the Greater India Society.

In 1933 the Poet presided at the inaugural meeting of the Centenary of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the "Father of Modern India." The Shah of Persia sent the Poet-scholar Poure Davoud as a visiting professor to Visva-Bharati. The Poet was entertained by the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University and by the Persee community of Bombay who donated a special lectureship at Santiniketan, on Zoroastrian studies. He also delivered lectures at the Andhra and at the Osmania Universities. In December he addressed the Ram Mohun Centenary at the Senate House. In 1934, he was invited to visit the historical sites of Ceylon and delivered many lectures there. On his way back he was received by the Governor of Madras. In 1935, he delivered the Convocation Address at the Hindu University of Benares which conferred on him the D. Litt. *honoris causa*. On the 27th of December 1935 he sent a message of felicitations to the President of the Indian National Congress on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee. In 1936 he was honoured by the people of Behar in a special meeting at Patna, organized by Babu Rajendra Prasad. In July of the same year the Dacca University conferred on him the D. Litt., *honoris causa* and in September he sent a message to the World Peace Congress at Brussels. On the 11th of October, he felicitated the great Bengali novelist Sarat Chandra Chatterjee on his sixtieth Birthday. In February 1937 he delivered the Convocation Address of the Calcutta University, for the first time in Bengali. He inaugurated the Chinese Hall (*Cheena Bhavan*)

with an address on 'China and India' and wrote a wonderfully lucid Introduction to Science (*Viśva Paricaya*) in Bengali. He was taken seriously ill in September, but he recovered and sent a message to the New Education Fellowship Conference in Calcutta, in the following December. The Poet presided at a sitting of the Parliament of Religions in March 1937, celebrating the Sri Rama Krishna Centenary. In March 1938, the Osmania University conferred the D.Litt, *honoris causa* on the Poet who received, in course of the year, Mahatma Gandhi in Calcutta and Lord Lothian at Santiniketan. In 1939, he invited Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru to open the *Hindi Bhavan* at Santiniketan. The Poet laid the foundation stone of the *Maha-Jati Sadan* at the request of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, the then President of the Indian National Congress. He visited Puri and the Premier of Orissa organised a public reception on the occasion of the 78th Birthday. The Poet greeted Pt. Jawahirlal Nehru on his way to China and opened the Vidyasagar Memorial Hall at Midnapore, December 1939. In February 1940, the Poet received Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi in Santiniketan. The Oxford University held a special convocation at Santiniketan on the 7th August of the same year conferring on him the D.Litt., *honoris causa*. A full account of this function has been published in a previous issue of the Greater India Society's Journal. In December 1940, H. E. Tai Chi Tao brought the message of the Chinese Government and the greetings of the Chinese people to the Poet. A final warning to the war-ridden world was delivered by the Poet on his eightieth Birthday through his magnificent address on *Sabhyatār Saṅkat* ('The crisis in civilization') and as if the tragedy of the cruel war were too much for the Poet, we found his vitality steadily to ebb away. Exactly one year after the conferment of the Honorary Degree of the Oxford University, Rabindranath, the most sensitive and sonorous harp of Humanity, collapsed on the 7th August, 1941, darkening the horizon of India and the World.

Kalidas Nag

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX, Part I (February, 1941).**

*An Introduction to the study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula.* By Roland Braddell.

This is a continuation of the author's paper contributed to the same Journal (Vols. 13, 14, 15 & 17).

Begins with a critical account of the history of Fu-nan from the fourth to the seventh century A.D. This is followed by a geographical excursus discussing seven toponyms viz., Javadvīpa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Jabadiou of Ptolemy, as well as Ye-tiao, Tchou-po, Tou-po, Ye-po-ti and Cho-po of the Chinese writers. The author's conclusions (p. 68) are that these seven toponyms probably refer to one and the same place which is not Sumatra or Java or Malay Peninsula, but most probably Borneo. Proceeding with his theme, the author suggests (p. 72) that both *a priori* reasoning and surviving data lead us to infer a very early acquaintance with Borneo on the part of Indians and Chinese, and the Indians must have been familiar with Borneo before they became acquainted with Java, the navigation of which is far more difficult and dangerous.

*Kulanggi or Gulanggi.* By Roland Braddell.

—Defends the author's equation of the above term with Lower Burma against the criticism of Sir Richard Winstedt.

*The Journey of Fa-Hsien from Ceylon to Canton.* By A. Grimes.—From the details given by the celebrated Chinese pilgrim a modern meteorologist draws very interesting conclusions about the season and the route of the pilgrim's voyage. A map at the end illustrates the author's view of Fa-Hsien's route which is very different from that suggested by Giles, the translator of Fa-Hsien.

**The Journal of the Thailand Research Society, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, March, 1941.**

*An appreciation of the Cahiers de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.* By Major Erik Seidenfaden.

—Gives a very useful summary, arranged according to countries, of the contents of the Cahiers Nos. 1-22 published by the French School of the Far East regarding the work of research and temple-restoration carried out by itself during 1934 to 1940.

**Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient**, tome XXXIX, fasc. 2, 1940.

*Práh Khñn de Kõmpõn Svây.* By Henri Mauger.

—Gives for the first time a detailed survey, illustrated with charts, plans and plates, of the group of monuments so-called which should be carefully distinguished from the temple of the same name near Angkor.

*Une statue de Çiva récemment découverte à Bàkõn* (Cambodge) With two illustrations. By G. Coedès.

—A curious group of statues recently discovered at Bàkõn is identified with Umā Gaṅgapatīśvara of the Bàkõn Stèle Inscription noticed in the author's *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, t. 1.

**Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient**, tome XXXVIII, 1938, Fasc. 2. Hanoi, 1940.

*Essais sur l'art de l'Indus.* By Victor Goloubew, I *L'homme au châte de Mohenjo Daro.*

Contains exhaustive criticism of the view of Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda supported by Sir John Marshall, namely that the famous limestone statue of Mohenjo Daro was the prototype of a meditative yogī. In truth the statue belongs, as much by its iconographic peculiarities as by its choice of subject and diverse details of technical execution, to the art of Western Asia. By referring to a series of votive sculptures discovered in Chaldaea and Elam it is possible to date it between 2350 and 2200 B. C. It was apparently the effigy of a priest. The geometrical trefoils and the circles which adorn its dress have probably a symbolic affinity with the cult of the starred sky apparently introduced into India by immigrants of Sumero-Elamite stock.

*En marge de Rāmāyaṇa Cambodgien.* By François Martini. Points out that the Cambodian Rāmāyaṇa now in course of publication supports Cœdès' identification of a particular bas-relief of Angkor-vat as representing the Svayambara of Sītā.

**Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,**  
Vol. X, Part III, London 1940.

*Rāma II.* By H. W. Bailey. Refers to Rāma story in Khotanese. Contains translation with notes of relevant extracts.

*Tiagutta* by the same. Shows that the correct meaning of the above is Tibetan.

U. N. G.

**Catalogus der Bibliotheek: Koninklijk Bataviaasch  
Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1940.**

It is a catalogue of books in the library of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. The books are classified according to countries and periods.

**Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indië, afl. 1, 1940.**

The book under notice contains four inscriptions edited with text, translation, notes, etc. The inscription first edited is that of King Balitung and dates from 905 A. D. It was found at Randusari near Prambanan. It states that the King issued a command to the village of Poh and the dependencies at Rumanan and Nyū, all under Kiniwang, ordaining that they should constitute a freehold for the *sang hyang caitya*, which is to be the *silunglung* of the King entombed at Pastika. On the authority of a Singhasāri inscription Stutterheim thinks *silunglung* to be a building connected with the worship of the dead.

The second inscription is that of Ḍaṅg Ācārya Munīndra from 885 A. D. and was found at Randusari near Prambanan. It states that the Venerable Munīndra purchased from the village authorities of Parhyangan a *sawah*-field in



order to make it a freehold for the maintenance of a temple which is not further specified.

The third inscription is that of Kṛtarājasa and dates from 1296 A. D. It was found on the Penanggungan. It records that Sang Apañji Patipati called Mpu Kapat and his family possessed a freehold for religious purposes. It was called Sukamṛta. It had passed from the control of the clergy to the temporal authority. It was again restored to the clergy as a freehold. The resurrected freehold was to give *rāja-sekar* and other taxes to the royal freehold at Pagŕr.

The last inscription is from Singhasāri and is supposed to date from the middle of the 14th century on account of the appearance of the name of Gajah Mada as *patih* of Janggala and Kōdiri. It records a dispute between the village authorities of Walaṇḍit and the *ḍapurs* of Himad regarding the control of the *dhamma Kabuyutan* (interment place of forefathers) together with its freehold Walaṇḍit. As the autonomy of Walaṇḍit was proved by an edict of Sindok, the Himad authorities did not press their point. The other party, however, obtained the present record to escape future trouble.

#### **Rapporten, Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch—Indië, 1938.**

Caṇḍi Sumberawan, as it is popularly called, is situated about 6 kilometers to the North-East of Singhasāri and forms the subject-matter of this monograph. The name of the Caṇḍi is supposed to be derived from *sumber* (source) and *rawan* (pond), which designation seems to be just in as much as the Caṇḍi is surrounded by ponds on three sides. Dr. Stutterheim conjectures that the original name of the Caṇḍi was *casurāṅganān* which occurs in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. The relics found in course of excavation of the Caṇḍi do not betray its religious character. The reconstruction revealed it to be a *stūpa*. Its plan answers to Hindu-Javanese architecture from the Central and East-Javanese periods. Mr. Van Romondt assigned it to the 14th-15th centuries. The epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of

Netherlands India places the stūpa between the 11th and the 15th centuries.

**Djawa, XX, No. 6, 1940.—**

*Rapport inzake een te Batavia op te richten Faculteit der Letteren.* By Brugemans. Reports the establishment of a Faculty of Letters at Batavia, in which the scheme of the study of Indian History and Culture occupies, as it ought to do, an honourable place.

*De Poera Madoewe Karang te Koeboetambahan, een Noord-Balisch agrarisch heiligdom.* By Grader—Describes a North-Bali agrarian temple. Illustrative of the character of the agrarian temple is the worship of batara Sri and batara di Kamoelan together with the worship of the rice-goddess and forefathers. The worship of some agrarian deities and some gods of the Hindu pantheon is described in that connexion.

**Djawa, XXI, No. 1, 1941.**

*Een genezende heiland.* By Ir. J. L. Moens—Describes a six-armed Avalokiteśvara-image with alloys of 8 metals found at Menggung in Surakarta. Now at Sriwedari museum. It is argued that this image owes its origin to the inspiration of the East-Indian Art of the Pāla period.

H. B. Sarkar

### **Additions to the Library**

The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following periodicals and books during the last six months.

#### **Periodicals**

1. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XXI, Parts III, IV, 1939-40.
2. Annual Report on the Working of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, for the year ending 31st March 1941, Allahabad 1941.

3. Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. II Nos. 3-4, Poona, June 1941.
4. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London Vol. X, Part III, 1940.
5. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Pamphlet on *New Year's Message*, January 1, 1941. By Nicholas Murray Butler.
6. Ceylon Journal of Science. Section C, Anthropology, Vol. III, pt. 2 The Physical Anthropology of the existing Veddas of Ceylon. Part I. By W. C. Osman Hill.
7. Columbia University Bulletin of Information—Report of the President for 1940.
8. Columbia University Address on *the World Awaits another Waterloo* by Nicholas Murray Butler.
9. Djawa, 21<sup>ste</sup> Jaargang No. 3, Mei 1941.
10. Hindu Heritage, May, 1941.
11. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, No. 1, Calcutta, March 1941.
12. Do. Vol. XVII, No. 2, Calcutta, June, 1941.
13. Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. VIII, April 1941, No. 2.
14. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XX, Part I, April, 1941.
15. Journal of Malay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX, Part I, February, 1941.
16. Journal of Thailand Research Society, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, March, 1941.
17. Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. XIII, Part I, July, 1940.
18. Do Vol. XIII, Part II, December, 1940.
19. Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā, year 45, Kartick 1997 No 3.
20. Do Do Magh, 1997, No. 4.
21. Do year 46, Baisakh, 1998, No. 1.
22. Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1940. Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Batavia, 1941.
23. Suddha Dharma, Vol. V, No. 4, February 11, 1941.
24. Do Vol. VI, No. 1, May 21, 1941.

25. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel LXXXI Afl. 3 Batavia 1941.

**Books, pamphlets etc.**

1. Aanpassing van Het Inlandsch Onderwijs op Bali aan de eigen Sfeer. Door H. Te Flierhaar. Overdruk mit Koloniale Studien, No. 2, 1941.
2. Architecture on the monasteries of Thailand. By Luang Vichitr Vadakarn, Publications of the Department of Fine Arts, 1940.
3. Early History of Ceylon. By G. C. Mendis, with a foreword by Prof. Wilhelm Geiger. The Heritage and Life of Ceylon Series, No. 1. Fourth edition revised and enlarged. Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta 1940.
4. Javaanse Kaartspelen. Door Dr. Tjan Tjoe Siem. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Deel LXXV, Eerste Stuk, Bandoeng 1941.
5. Translation of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan. By T. Burrow, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1940.
6. Verbs of movement and their variants in the critical edition of the Adiparvan by E. D. Kulkarni, Poona 1941.

